CONTINENTAL-GERMANIC PERSONAL NAMES IN ENGLAND

IN OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH TIMES

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

THORVALD FORSSNER
LIC. PHIL., GÄSTR.-HÄLS.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH IN LECTURE HALL I, DECEMBER 12th, 1916, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M. FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UPPSALA 1916
K. W. APPELBERGS BOKTRYCKERI

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Preface.

English personal names have been made the subject of numerous investigations from Camden's time down to our days. Some of these, however, are very unreliable and may as a rule be characterized as amateur essays based on conjectures and popular conceptions rather than on scientific and linguistic research. The most obvious defect in these papers — in the majority of cases starting from present English in point of view of the name-forms and evidently intended for a large public — is a deficient knowledge of the stock of names from which the modern forms have mostly sprung, i. e. the personal names occurring in Old and Middle English records. In spite of numerous errors, the best of the works referred to is undoubtedly Bardsley's Dictionary, in which is collected a fairly exhaustive material of Middle English p. ns, which has enabled him to trace the modern forms pretty accurately back to their Middle English substrata. Of works dealing with Old and Middle English personal names we may mention, in the first place, Searle's Onomasticon, which is "a list of Anglo-Saxon proper names from the time of Beda to that of King John". This book is no doubt of great value as containing a large collection of names with references, but should be used with the utmost caution as the reviews of it have already shown. As regards the present subject, the continental personal names of Old German origin in England, Searle has made no attempt at distinguishing them from the indigenous material; on the contrary, the method adopted by him of inser-

ting here and there personal names from continental sources in order to "make the groups more complete" has caused some scholars to quote as native names such as are actually taken from the most various continental records and do not occur in England at all, at least not in the form given. Müller's study on the personal names of the oldest part of Liber Vitæ, although meritorious in many respects, has not paid due regard to the occurrence of foreign personal names in England, whence the author has been led to some erroneous explanations and identifications. The only works hitherto published with the aim of distinguishing from the native English personal nomenclature the numerous foreign personal names and onomastic elements in Old and Middle English times are — apart from Köpke's of which only the introduction has appeared — Björkmans excellent treatises Nordische Personennamen in England and Zur Englischen Namenkunde, by which the Scandinavian contribution to the stock of early English personal names has been made clear.

It has long been a recognized fact that there is, especially in Middle English, a large weft of Continental-Germanic personal names and that the introduction of these names began already before the Norman Conquest, but up till now no work has been devoted to a detailed examination of this subject, a want that the present study is intended to supply, as far as this is possible within the scope of a dissertation and with the actual state of knowledge of the continental and the Old English personal names, as well as other questions connected with this matter.

The sources that have been excerpted for collecting the material range from the oldest records to about the middle of the fourteenth century, although some texts of later dates have also been examined. The reason for my not extending my investigations beyond this limit is above all the observation that records belonging to the latter half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries as a rule

afford very scanty material of interest for the purposes of the present work. But the extremely great number of extant charters and rolls falling especially within the thirteenth century has rendered an examination of all of them impossible; further, many were not accessible to me. I am of opinion, however, that very little fresh material would be had from these documents, which mostly date from the time to which belong the majority of the voluminous records examined. I have also gone through several Old and Middle English texts which have not found any place in the Bibliography, since no quotation has been taken from them. In this connection it may be observed that the material for my study is chosen as a rule from prose records, not from poetical works, and thus presents names actually borne by persons in England and not the often more or less fictitious names figuring especially in the Middle English translations or imitations of Old French romances. There is certainly no denying the fact that names of persons occurring in popular epics and romances may on this account have obtained a wide spread and that a continental personal name in England sometimes may owe its existence as a real name to this circumstance, but it is as a rule impossible to determine whether the occurrence or popularity of such a name in England is not rather due to its occurrence or popularity among the Normans and Frenchmen that invaded England. An examination of questions of this nature is also destined to turn out more or less unsatisfactorily owing to the impossibity of distinguishing in detail between the name-bearers that are of Anglo-Saxon descent or born in England and those who have come over from the mainland, and further of ascertaining in every case the reasons that were decisive for the choice of name at the christening. As an illustration of the fusion of Norman and Anglo-Saxon p. ns I venture to quote the following statement from Freeman (Norm. Conq. V p. 560 f.): "Between the two (i. e. Norman and Scriptural names) the great mass

of our Old-English names were gradually driven out. The change began at once. The Norman names became the fashion. The Englishman whose child was held at the font by a Norman gossip, the Englishman who lived on friendly terms with his Norman lord or his Norman neighbour, nay the Englishman who simply thought it fine to call his children after the reigning King and Queen, cast aside his own name and the names of his parents to give his sons and daughters names after the new foreign pattern. The children of Godric and Godgifu were no longer Godwine and Eadgyth, but William and Matilda. Robert, the son of Godwine, the hero of Rama, the martyr of Babylon, is the type of a class. In every list of names throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find this habit spreading. The name of the father is English; the name of the son is Norman. This is a point of far more importance than anything in the mere history of nomenclature. It helps to disguise one side of the fusion between Normans and Englishmen. Many a man who bears a Norman name, many a Richard or Gilbert whose parentage does not happen to be recorded, must have been as good an Englishman as if he had been called Ealdred or Aethelwulf. No one would have dreamed that Robert, the most daring of knights, was of other than Norman descent, if the name of his father had not by good luck been preserved".

An investigation into the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England is self-evidently dependent on the stage of our knowledge of their continental ground-forms. Although much has certainly been done to elucidate the occurrence and frequency, as well as the etymologies, of the latter, much undoubtedly remains to be cleared up. In particular I regret to say that those names which are of the utmost importance for the present research, viz. the Germanic personal names of Gaul and their descendants as well as later importations from the adjacent Germanic districts and hy-

brid formations of Germanic name-elements, very numerous on Romance soil, have not as yet been completely collected and analysed by experts in Romance and Germanic philology and onomatology. As matters stand there are many difficulties which embarrass the Anglist in the interpretation of personal names in England, which might easily be solved, if he had a more intimate knowledge of the continental personal names and the development they have taken in mainland records. I wish, however, here to acknowledge my indebtedness especially to the works of Mackel and Kalbow, without which any investigation into French influence on English personal nomenclature would be impossible. On the other hand, the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England are of course of importance to the knowledge of the continental names themselves, as affording a fairly good illustration of the state of the personal nomenclature of Normandy and France at the time of the Conquest and onwards, and many of the personal names collected in the bulk of this work give evidence of the frequency of names or name-forms among the Romance invaders of England which may be useful when the history of the French personal names may at some future time be written.

In order to render a necessary discussion of the name-forms possible or to facilitate it, the etymology of every theme has been adduced. At the risk of repeating myself indefinitely, I have, for consistency's sake, given the etymology, or references to it, even in cases where it was not necessary. As regards my references to the numerous etymological notices that are scattered about in Germanic and Romance books and periodicals, they make no pretension to being complete, for this would require a much wider reading than the writer of this book has enjoyed.

Place-names containing personal names as their first members have also been mentioned as far as this has been possible, but the instances given are of course not exhaustive, because this would require a special study and

because many place-names are preserved only in later Middle English forms, which certainly very often may tempt to conjectures but whose original appearance is very uncertain, owing to sound-changes or arbitrary alterations by scribes or copyists. Of works dealing with English place-names, Zachrisson's book on Anglo-Norman influence has been particularly valuable for the interpretation of questions connected with Anglo-Norman sound-laws and spelling-habits.

The Cont.-Germ. personal names dealt with in the name-list have come from very different dialects, some being Norman, French, West-Frankish or Italian, others Flemish, Frisian or belonging to some other German dialect. As regards the dates of their appearance in England, they extend from the sixth to the fifteenth centuries. Further, some of them are learned forms, others are the outcome of a regular sound-development in some dialect or have been subjected to various spelling influences. This has in many cases rendered it difficult to bring the name-forms under appropriate headings. As a rule I have followed the principal of giving as head-name the form that seemed to be most common in the records examined; in cases, however, where I have deemed it desirable to collect in one place the names which contained the same first member, although exhibiting variations in form, the method has been adopted of using less common or hypothetical forms as headings. I hope that the inconsistencies and inadvertencies in this respect, of which I may be guilty and for which I beg the indulgence of the reader, will not cause him any difficulties in finding the names, since the variants have been adduced in their alphabetical order. In the Addenda are given a few names or variants which were omitted in the name-list, as well as some names of uncertain origin and form.

It remains to be said that I had originally intended to affix to this volume a chapter on the names ending in

the Low German suffix *-kin*, which was introduced into England in Old English times, and which played an important part in the Middle English personal nomenclature where it acquired the function of a productive name-suffix. But since these names afforded more material than was expected I have been forced to exclude this section from the present work.

It gives me great pleasure to express my hearty thanks to Professor Erik Björkman for the suggestion of the subject of this treatise, for much valuable advice accorded me during the course of my work, and for the kindness and interest he has always shown me in my studies. I also wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor K. F. Sundén of Gothenburg, who was my first teacher in Middle English, and to Mr S. J. Charleston, M. A., late Lector at the University of Upsala, who has revised my manuscript from a stylistic point of view.

Upsala, November 1916.

Thorvald Forssner.

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Abb. Lind. = Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores 1195—1479, ed. J. Dowden (Scot. Hist. Soc. 42, 1903).

Abbr. Plac. = Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservatorum Abbreviatio (Rich. I.—Edw. II.). Rec. Com. 1811.

AC = Ancient Charters royal and private prior to AD 1200, ed. J. H. Round (Pipe Roll Soc., London 1888).

Alfred's translation of Bede's Hist. Eccles., ed. J. Schipper, Leipzig 1899.

Anecd. Oxon. = Anecdota Oxoniensa: The Crawford Collection of early charters now in the Bodleian Library, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson. Oxford 1895.

Ann. Berm. = Annales de Bermundeseia (AD 1042—1432) in Annales Monastici vol. 3.

Ann. Burt. = Annales de Burton (AD 1004—1263) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.

Ann. Dunst. = Annales de Dunstaplia (AD 1—1297, appendix 1302—1459) in Annales Monastici vol. 3.

Ann. Marg. = Annales de Margan (AD 1066—1232) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.

Ann. Osen. = Annales de Oseneia (AD 1016—1347) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.

Ann. Theokesb. = Annales de Theokesberia (AD 1066—1263) in Annales Monastici vol. 1.

Ann. Waverl. = Annales de Waverleia (AD 1—1291) in Annales Monastici vol. 2.

Ann. Wig. = Annales de Wigornia (AD 1—1377) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.

Ann. Wint. = Annales de Wintonia (AD 519—1277) in Annales Monastici vol. 2.

Annales Monastici, ed. by R. Luard, London 1864—69.

AS Chr. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, ed. Ch. Plummer and J. Earle. 2 vols. Oxford 1892—99.

Asser's Annales rerum gestarum Aelfredi Magni (in MHB).

BB = Boldon Buke, a survey of the possessions of the see of Durham, made by order of Bishop Hugh Pudsey in the year 1183, ed. W. Greenwell (Surt. Soc., vol. 25, Durham 1852).

BCS = Cartularium Saxonicum. A collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history, ed. W. de Gray Birch. 3 vols. London 1885—93.

Bede, HE = Bede's Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford 1896.

Beow. = Beowulf, ed. Holthausen, Heidelberg 1908.

Beverley = Memorials of Beverley Minster: The chapter act book of the collegiate church of S. John of Beverley AD 1286—1347, ed. A. F. Leach. (Surt. Soc. 98, 108, Durham 1898, 1903).

Biogr. Misc. = Miscellana Biographica: Oswinus, Rex Northumbriæ; Cuthbertus, Episcopus Lindisfarnensis; Eata, Episcopus Hagustaldensis. (Surt. Soc. Durham 1838).

Cal. Doc. = Calendar of documents, preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I AD 918—1206, ed. J. H. Round. London 1899.

Cal. Inq. = Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem and other analogous documents (Henry III.—Edw. III., Henry VII.). London 1898 etc.

Cart. Eynsh. = The chartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham. Ed. by H. E. Salter. 2 vols. (Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1906—1908).

CCR = Calendar of the Charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. (Vol. 1 AD 1226—57, vol. 2 AD 1257

—1300, vol. 3 AD 1300—1326.) London 1903, 1906, 1908.

CG = Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, ed. W. H. Hart. 3 vols., London 1863—67.

Chr. Joh. Ox. = Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes, ed. H. Ellis (in Chronicles and Memorials 13, London 1859).

Chr. Jord. Fant. = Fantosme, J., Chronicle of the war between the English and the Scots, ed. F. Michel in Surt. Soc., London 1840.

Chr. Petr. = Chronicon Petroburgense, ed. Th. Stapleton (Camden Soc., London 1849).

Chr. Thom. = Chronicon Thomæ Wykes (AD 1066—1289) in Annales Monastici vol. 4.

CMR = Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons. 3 vols. (in Chronicles and Memorials 79, London 1884—93).

CPR = Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. 6 vols. (AD 1281—1338). London 1893—95.

CR = Rotuli litterarum clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. 2 vols. (AD 1204—24, 1224—27), ed. Th. D. Hardy. Rec. Com., London 1833, 1844.

CRC = Calendarium rotulorum chartarum et inquisitionum ad quod damnum. Rec. Com., London 1803.

Cust. = Custumals of Battle Abbey, in the reigns of Edw. I. and Edw. III. (AD 1283—1312), ed. S. R. Scargill-Bird (Camden Soc. 1887).

DB = Domesday Book seu Liber censualis Wilhelmi Primi regis Angliæ. 2 vols. London 1783; Vol. IV Additamenta: Exon DB, Inquisitio Eliensis, Liber Winton.

Duc. Lanc. = Ducatus Lancastriæ pars prima calendarium inquisitionum post mortem (Edw. I.—Mary). Rec. Com. 1823.

Earle = Earle, J., Handbook to the Landcharters and other Saxonic documents. Oxford 1888.

Ellis, Intr. = Ellis, H. A general introduction to Domesday Book. 2 vols., London 1833.

ESC = Early Scottish charters prior to AD 1153. Collected, with notes and an index, by sir Archibald Lawrie. Glasgow 1905.

Exc. Rot. Fin. = Excerpta è rotulis finium in Turri Londinensi asservatis. 2 vols. (AD 1216—46, 1246—72). Rec. Com., London 1835, 1836.

Exon DB = Exon Domesday in DB vol. IV.

FA = Inquisitions and assessments relating to Feudal Aids; with other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office. 5 vols. (AD 1284—1431). London 1899—1908.

Fabr. Rolls = The Fabric Rolls of York Minster with an appendix of illustrative documents. Surt. Soc. 35, Durham 1859.

Fines = Fines, sive pedes finium, sive finales concordiæ in curia domini regis (AD 1195—1214). 2 vols. Rec. Com., London 1835, 1844.

Flor. Wig. = Florentius Wigorniensis: Chronicon ex. Chronicis (in MHB).

FY = Register of the Freemen of the city of York from the city records. Vol. 1 (AD 1272—1558), Surt. Soc. 96, Durham 1897.

Gaunt = John of Gaunt's Register, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, Camden Soc. 20, 21, London 1911.

Giff. Reg. = The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York AD 1266—1279. Surt. Soc. 1904.

Gir. Cambr. = Giraldi Cambrensis opera, ed. J. F. Dimock (Chronicles and Memorials, London 1867 ff.).

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Grueber, see Keary.

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Hist. Ab. = Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon. 2 vols., ed. E. J. Stevenson (in Chronicles and Memorials) London 1859.

Hist. Aug. = Historia monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis by Thomas of Elmham, formerly monk and treasurer of that foundation (in Chronicles and Memorials 8. London 1858).

Hist. Pap. = Historical papers and letters from the northern registers (in Chronicles and Memorials 61, London 1873).

Inq. Non. = Nonarum inquisitiones in curia scaccarii (c. AD 1341) Rec. Com. 1807.

KCD = Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici, ed. J. Kemble. 6 vols. London 1839—48.

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Linc. Obit. = Obituary, 12th century, Lincoln Cathedral (in Gir. Cambr., vol. 7, pp. 153—164).

LV = the oldest part of LVD, edited by Sweet in OET pp. 153—166.

LVD = Liber Vitæ ecclesiæ Dunelmensis nec non obituaria duo ejusdem ecclesiæ, ed. J. Stevenson, Surt. Soc., London 1841.

LVH = Liber Vitæ, Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, ed. W. de Gray Birch, 1892. Not accessible to me, but quoted from Searle.

MHB = Momenta historica Britanica, ed. H. Petrie and J. Sharpe. London 1848.

MRS = Magnum rotulum scaccarii, vel magnum rotulum pipæ ed. J. Hunter. Rec. Com. 1833.

Mem. Ripon = Memorials of the church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon. Vol. 4. Surt. Soc. 1908.

Obed. = Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey, ed. R. E. G. Kirk, Camden Soc. 1892.

Obit., see LVD.

OET = The Oldest English texts, ed. H. Sweet. London 1885.

Ped. Fin. = Feet of fines. 4 vols. (AD 1182—1199), in the Pipe Roll Soc., London 1894—1900.

Ped. Fin. Ebor. = Pedes Finium Ebor. (AD 1199—1214). Surt. Soc. 1894.

Pipe Roll = The great Roll of the Pipe. 4 vols. (AD 1158—62) Pipe Roll Soc., London 1884—85.

Plac. = Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I, II, III, in curia receptæ scaccarii Westm. asservata. Rec. Com., London 1818.

Prior. Finch. = The charters of endowment, inventories and account rolls of the Priory of Finchale in the county of Durham. Surt. Soc. 1837.

Prior. Hexh. = The Priory of Hexham, its chroniclers, endowments, and annals. 2 vols. Surt. Soc. 44, 46, Durham 1864—65.

Pt. Y = Rotuli collectorum subsidii regi a laicis anno secundo concessi in Westrythyngo (poll-tax, 2 Richard II.). Yorks. Archæol. and Topogr. Journal V, VI, VII.

R = The great Rolls of the Pipe for the second, third and fourth years of the reign of King Henry the Second (AD 1155—58) and for the first year of King Rich. I. (AD 1189—90), ed. J. Hunter, London 1844.

RB = The Red Book of the exchequer. 3 vols., ed. H. Hall. London 1896.

RC = Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati (AD 1199—1216). Rec Com., London 1837.

RCR = Rotuli Curiæ regis. Rolls and records of the court held before the Kings justiciars or justices. Vol 1 (from the sixth year of Rich. I. to the accession of John), vol. 2 (the first year of the reign of King John). Rec. Com., London 1835.

RH = Rotuli hundredorum tempor. Henr. III. et Edw. I. in Turri Londinensi et in curia receptæ scaccarii Westm. asservati. 2 vols. Rec. Com., London 1812, 1818.

RLP = Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati. Vol. 1 (AD 1201—1216), ed. Th. D. Hardy. Rec. Com., London 1835.

RM = Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey. 2 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer (in Chronicles and Memorials, London 1879, 1880).

Reg. Corp. Christ. = The Register of the guild of Corpus Christi in the city of York with an appendix of illustrative documents. Surt. Soc. 57, Durham 1868.

Reg. Lib. = Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quæ novellis patrate sunt temporibus. Surt. Soc. 1835.

Rob. Gros. = Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolæ, ed. R. Luards (in Chronicles and Memorials, London 1861).

Rot. Canc. = Rotulus cancellarii, vel antigraphum magni rotuli pipæ, de tertio anno regni regis Johannis. Rec. Com. London 1833.

Rot. Fin., see Rot. Obl.

Rot. Norm. = Rotuli Normanniæ, ed. F. D. Hardy. Vol. I (AD 1200—1205, 1417). London 1835.

Rot. Obl. = Rotuli de oblatis et finibus in Turri Londinensi asservati, tempore regis Johannis. Rec. Com., London 1835.

Rot. Orig. = Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatio. 2 vols. (Henr. III.—Edw. III.). Rec. Com., London 1805, 1810.

Sanct. Dun. = Sanctuarium Dunelmense et Sanctuarium Beverlacense (AD 1464—1539). Surt. Soc. 1837.

Select Pleas, Stars and other records from the rolls of the exchequer of the Jews (AD 1220—84), ed. J. M. Rigg (in the Jewish Hist. Soc., London 1902).

Sim. Durh. = Symeonis Dunelmensis opera et collectanea. Surt. Soc. 1868.

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Test. Ebor. = Testamenta Eboracensia or wills registered at York, illustrative of the history, language, etc. of the province of York from the year 1300 downwards. Vol. 1, Surt. Soc. 1836.

Test. Nev. = Testa de Nevill sive liber feodorum in curia scaccarii temp. Henr. III. et Edw. I. Rec. Com., London 1807.

Thorpe = Diplomatarium Anglicum aevi Saxonici, ed. B. Thorpe, London 1865.

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Abbreviations (not given above).

abl. = ablative.
acc. = accusative.
AfdA = Anzeiger f. deutsches Altertum.
AN = Anglo-Norman.
Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
AS = Anglo-Saxon.
Beitr. = Beiträge z. Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.
C = Chapter.
c. = century.
Centr. F = Central French.
dat. = dative.
DCB = Dictionary of Christian Biography.
dim. = diminutive.
E. St. = Englische Studien.
fem. = female, feminine.
Fris. = Frisian.
gen. = genitive.
HG = High German.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
L = Liber
LF = Low Frankish.
LG = Low German.
ME = Middle English.
M. Lat. = Middle Latin.
mon. = moneyer.
NE = New English.
NED = A New English Dictionary on historical principles.
NF = Norman-French.
nom. = nominative.

obl. = oblique (case).
OE = Old English.
OF = Old French.
O Fris. = Old Frisian.
OG = Old German.
OHG = Old High German.
O Icel. = Old Icelandic.
ON = Old Norse.
OS = Old Saxon.
O Swed. = Old Swedish.
Paul's Gr. = Paul's Grundriss der germanischen Philologie.
p. n(s) = personal name(s).
pl. n(s) = place-name(s).
Rom. = Romance.
WF = West Frankish.
ZfdA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.

Introduction.

CHAPTER I.

A short survey of the principal political and commercial relations between England and the Continent in the early Middle Ages with documentary evidence of continental settlers and settlements.

When the Germanic tribes of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes invaded Britain in the fifth century and conquered its Romano-Celtic population, they probably did not altogether break off their intercourse with their continental kinsmen. On the contrary, it would seem likely that, after the occupation of Britain, there followed a constant influx of immigrants from the coasts of the opposite mainland, although there appears to be no direct evidence in support of this assumption. Real political relations between England and the continent, however, were not opened as long as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were still contending for mastery. It is not till King Aethelberht had established the supremacy of Kent over Middlesex and Essex as well as over East Anglia and Mercia, that political relations and regular communication with the dominion of the Franks commence. This was chiefly due to Aethelberht's marriage to the Frankish princess Berta, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris. Of special consequence is the conversion of parts of England to Christianity, which was effected in his reign and by which the fortunes of England became linked to those of Western Europe. Well known is the interest that Pepin of Heristal took in Willibrord, the Northumbrian, who had been summoned to take up the work that the Anglo-Saxon

missionary Wilfrid had left incomplete in Frisia[1], and the same interest in English affairs was maintained by Pepin's son Charlemagne, who, especially by Alcuin's influence, was drawn into close relations with the north of England, relations which soon acquired an essentially political character. In the struggles that were fought within the Anglo-Saxon dominions the conquered party often applied to the Frankish court to obtain shelter. The West-Saxon prince Ecgberht had been forced to flee to the Mercian court. After Beorhtric's marriage to a daughter of Offa, England was not safe for him any longer, for which reason he betook himself to the court of Charlemagne, where he stayed for thirteen years. He is also said to have served for three years in Charles's army[2]. When the West-Saxon queen Eadburg had poisoned her husband, the above-mentioned Beorhtric, she sought refuge with Charles, and received from him the gift of a great abbey.

Charles's relations to King Offa are not quite clear. There seem to have been some difficulties in connection with the English pilgrims who visited Rome. In a letter from Charles to Offa, published in BCS 270, the former promises to protect the Anglo-Saxons of Offa's dominions on their journeys through France, on condition that they do not carry on trade under pretext of being pilgrims ("non religioni servientes sed lucra sectantes"). There also seems to have been an estrangement between the two monarchs owing to the failure of matrimonial negotiations. Charles wanted to marry Offa's daughter to his son, but Offa would consent only on condition that Charles's daughter Berta should be given to his son Ecgferth. The friendly relations between the two kings were probably restored by the mediation of the Northumbrian Alcuin, who was the centre of the literary revival at Charles's court. Later, close rela-

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[1] Cf. Bede, HE L V, C X.
[2] See AS Chr. AD 836.

tions seem to have been established by the mission of the Frankish abbot Wigbod and by the interest Alcuin took in the church of his native country, which gave the relations between the kings a particularly religious and ecclesiastical character. Charles was also involved in the successional troubles of the Northumbrian kings. He restored King Eardwulf, who is said to have been his son-in-law, and who had been exiled from his country, and, as Mr Freeman puts it[1], "there seems reason to believe that both the Northumbrian and his Scottish neighbours acknowledged themselves the vassals of the new Augustus".

After the death of the West-Saxon king Ecgberht in 839, his son Aethelwulf succeded him on the throne. In spite of the troubles he had with the Viking invasions that began about this time, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome. On his way back he also visited the Frankish court, from which he brought with him home as his wife the princess Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. Two years afterwards, however, he died, and in his will he directed among other things that in his dominions "one man in ten, whether a native or a foreigner, should be supplied with meat, drink and clothing by his successors until the Day of Judgment". After the death of her husband, Judith married his son Aethelbald, but after his death she returned to France, where she married Baldwin, afterwards Count of the borderlands of Flanders. Of this marriage, Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, was a descendent in the seventh generation.

Alfred's reign was almost completely taken up by his struggle with the invading Norsemen. To be noticed are, however, the revival of learning and religion which took place in his time, and which brought foreign monks and scholars into England, as well as the marriage of his daughter Aelfthryth to Baldwin II, Count of Flanders, of the conse-

[1] FNC I p. 39 f.

quences of which a particular account will be given in the next chapter.

After Alfred, Aethelstan (925—940) was the first monarch to bring England into closer political relations with the continent. By the marriages of his half-sisters, the daughters of Edward the Elder, he was the brother-in-law of the most powerful rulers of Western Europe. Charles the Simple of France married Eadgifu, who afterwards sought refuge in England with her son Louis in the troubles that came after her husband was dethroned. The young prince was reared at the court of Aethelstan, whence he was recalled after seven years to be crowned king of the West Franks, known in history by the name of Louis IV (d'outre mer)[1]. Aethelstan's sister Eadhild was married to Duke Hugh of Paris. To King Otto, the future Roman emperor, he sent two of his sisters, Eadgyth and Aelfgifu, that Otto might make his choice between them. Eadgyth was chosen, and Aelfgifu was given to an unknown prince somewhere near the Alps. It is certainly chiefly to these political relations that the frequency of Cont.-Germ. personal names in England in Aethelstan's reign is due.

During the reigns of his two younger brothers, Eadmund (940—946) and Eadred (946—955), political relations with the continent were maintained on the whole uninterrupted, and the same also is true of the reign of his successor Eadgar, from which time, moreover, the direct and intimate connection between English and Norman history begins, probably to some extent brought about by the ecclesiastical movement that now took place in England, the monastic reform under Dunstan, to which I have referred more in detail in the next chapter. In Eadgar's time so

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[1] In the war that was carried on between this Louis and Otto, king of the East Franks, in 939, Aethelstan sent a fleet to support Louis, but the result does not seem to have been anything but the ravaging of some parts of the opposite coast.

many foreigners and foreign customs were introduced into England that the entry in AS Chr. AD 959 E was formed into the following well-known complaint:

Ane misdæda he dyde þeah to swiðe.
þ̄ he ælþeodige unsida lufode.
7 hæðene þeawas, innan þysan lande,
gebrohte tofæste.
7 utlændisce[1] hider in tihte.
7 deoriende leoda bespeon to þysan earde.

Aethelred II came to the throne in 978, after the short reign of his half-brother Edward the Martyr. There seems to have been some warfare between him and Richard the Good of Normandy, and Aethelred sent an expedition to Cotentin, the Western point of Normandy, but he does not seem to have been successful in this enterprise. After the death of his first wife, Aethelred married Richard's sister Emma in order to strengthen his position. She was brought over to England in 1002, and, to please English ears, her Norman name was changed to the common Anglo-Saxon name Aelfgifu, which gave rise to the following notice in AS Chr. : "þ̄ was Aelfgiue (on Englisc.) Ymma (on Frencisc.)." Henry of Huntingdon says that "from this union of an English king with the daughter of a Norman duke, the Normans justly, according to the law of nations, challenged and obtained possession of the English land". When Aethelred's power was declining, he sent Emma and her two sons, Alfred and Edward (the Confessor), back to Normandy, from where, however, she was once more brought over to be queen of England by her marriage to Cnut, the Danish successor of Edmund Ironside. In 1037, she was exiled and forced to seek shelter from her nephew, Baldwin of Flanders, till three years afterwards, on the death of Harold Harefoot,

[1] The word utlændisce Will. Malm. explains more particularly as Saxones, Flandritæ, ipsi etsiam Dani.

she accompanied Harthacnut, her son by Cnut, back to England.

The friendly relations with Germany that had existed from Aethelstan's reign were kept up by Cnut who in 1036 married his daughter Gunhild to Heinrich III and, after Cnut's death, the German emperor was drawn into close relations with the English government under Edward the Confessor (1042—1066). Heinrich wanted Edward's help to guard the coasts of the North Sea against Baldwin of Flanders, and Edward was the more willing to comply with this request as Flanders had in his reign been the refuge of Norse pirates who had successfully invaded Essex. In other respects, too, Flanders was the seat and support of the opposition against Edward. English refugees often sought shelter there and readily obtained it. Of these it may suffice to mention Gunhild, a relative of Cnut's, and Swein, the son of Godwine, as well as Godwine himself, Tostig and Gyrth. Especially noteworthy is Godwine's sojourn in Flanders in the winter of 1051—52, when he collected an army for an attack on the southern parts of England. Edward had for many years been an exile at the court of the Norman duke. When he came to the English throne there was a considerable influx of Normans of whom many held the most important offices in state and church. The result of the above-mentioned attack of Godwine's on Kent and Surrey was that most of Edward's foreign favourites were compelled to betake themselves back to their native country. Others possibly took refuge at the court of Macbeth, king of Scotland. Normans are at any rate mentioned as partakers on the Scotch side in the war that was carried on between the Scotch king and the Northumbrian earl Siward in 1054.

While Edward the Confessor was thus mostly drawn to Normans and Frenchmen, his successor Harold endeavoured to strengthen his power by entering into relations with Germany. All the foreigners promoted by him, or in the period of his influence, were Germans and mostly na-

tives of Lotharingia which then chiefly comprised the Southern Netherlands. Although these promotions of Germans had begun already in Cnut's reign as the result of his relations with the Emperor Heinrich, Harold's German policy is rather to be looked upon as an attempt at counterbalancing the Norman and French influence on English affairs under his predecessor Edward.

We have now come down to the by far most important event in English history, the Norman Conquest. It is needless here to enter on a detailed account of the Conquest itself or its political consequenses. It is to well known that from this time down to the death of John Lackland the history of England is the history of foreign government and foreign influence. It may suffice to state that the Normans who now took possession of England and of whom many were richly provided for with English lands at the cost of their previous Anglo-Saxon owners, as well as the Frenchmen, who in great numbers accompanied them, mostly bore names of Germanic origin. This is due to the fact that, at the end of the fifth and at the beginning of the sixth century, the Franks had conquered the whole of Gaul with the exception of the kingdom of Burgundy and Provence. Up to the sixth century there are only few Germanic personal names on record in Gaul but in this century they increase largely in number and, in the course of the following centuries, they almost entirely replace the previous, chiefly Roman, personal nomenclature that reigned before the coming of the Germanic tribes. When, further, the Norsemen settled in the north of France and founded the Duchy of Normandy, the Old German personal nomenclature, already predominant in these regions, was blended with their own, which blending could take place the more easily as the personal names in question belonged to the same Germanic stock and in many cases did not even exhibit the slightest discrepancies in form. And just as the Frankish personal names had replaced the Roman in Gaul, almost

to the same extent the Norman personal names replaced the Anglo-Saxon, although the change was effected must more rapidly in the latter case. On the conquest of the Norman soldiers there followed a peaceful and uninterrupted invasion especially of the trading classes of Normandy and France, which caused a steady increase of the Cont.-Germ. personal names in England.

The Conqueror was also accompanied into England by a great many volunteers from various parts of Western Europe, of whom the most important were the Flemings. The appearance of these Flemings in the Norman army is to some extent explained by the Conqueror's marriage to Matilda, the eldest daughter of Baldwin V, Count of Flanders. The first mention of Flemings in England occurs in the description of the battle of Hastings in AS Chr. 1066 C: "þa com Harald Engla chinge ofer þere brigge and his furde mid hine 7 þere michel wel geslogon ge Norweis ge Flæming ..." It is probable that there were also Flemings in the army that Tostig gathered and brought against England in 1066 and about which Flor. Wig. says: "Non multo post, comes Tostius de Flandria rediens, ad Vectum insulam applicuit". After this time we constantly meet with the names of Flemings in the English annals, e. g. in AS Chr. 1080: "On þisum geare wæs se *b* Walchere ofslagen on Dunholme æt anum gemote 7 an hund manna mid him Frencisce 7 Flemisce"[1], and ibid. 1102: "On ðisum ylcan geare on Pentecosten mæssan wuce þa coman þeofas sum of Aluearnie ('Auvergne'), sum of France 7 sum of Flanders 7 breocan þa mynstre of Burh ('Peterborough') 7 þær inne naman mycel to gode on golde 7 on seolfre þæt wæron roden 7 calicen 7 candelstican".

After William Rufus had taken Cumberland in 1092, he sent English and Flemish colonists to live there, and there are indeed traces of Flemish influence on the personal

[1] Cf. FNC IV p. 672 f.

as well as the place-nomenclature of this district in the twelfth century[1].

As an illustration of the vast immigration of Flemings into England, especially in the reign of Henry I, the following statement about this king in Rob. Glouc. 1154 may serve:

"& out of londe drof his fon wan he any founde
& namelyche hom of flaunders, vor hii were mest is fon".

It is from this time, too, that the large settlements of Flemings in Rhos and Pembroke in South Wales dates. They were evidently to a great extent sent there by King Henry himself to judge by the following statement of Will. Malm.: "Walenses rex Henricus, semper in rebellionem surgentes, crebris expeditionibus in deditionem premebat; concilioque salubri nixus, ut eorum tumorem extenuaret, Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolas eo traduxit. Plures enim, qui tempore patris pro materna cognatione confluxerant, occultabat Anglia, adeo ut ipsi regno pro multitudine onerosi viderentur; quapropter cum substantiis et necessitudinibus apud Ros, provinciam Walliarum, velut in sentinam congessit, ut et regnum defaecaret, et hostium brutam temeritatem retunderet". Cf. also Higden's Polychronicon (VII, 432): "Gens Flandriæ propter desolationem patriæ suæ per jactationem æquoreæ arenæ diu vagabunda, locum habitationis a rege Henrico expetiit et obtinuit apud orientalem plagam (Angliæ) juxta Twedam. Qui tamen postmodum sub anno regni XI translati sunt in Westwalliam"[2].

To the great number of Flemings in England in those days the following extract from Chr. Thom. (AD 1173) also bears witness: "Comes Leycestriæ in ultionem destructionis Leycestriæ, favente sibi Hugone, X milia Flandrenses navigio transvexit in Anglia, qui omnes dum de Suffolchia procedere

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[1] Cf. FNC V p. 119, Lindkvist, Intr. p. 54.

[2] Further evidence of this settlement is found in Heuser p. 174 ff.

cogitarent ad partes Leycestriæ, comprehensi per regios, ad duo militaria prope Sanctum Eadmundum in vico qui dicitur Fourham a minimo usque ad maximum interfecti sunt". The same event is also recorded in Chr. Petr. AD 1174.

In the year 1184 Ann. Wig. has the following entry: "Flandrenses vastaverunt Northwiche". Flemings are also mentioned as taking part in the war between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174. Cf. Chr. Jord. Fant. v. 1201: "L'ost fud merveillus, de grant chevalerie, de Flamens e de marchis fiere la cumpaignie". Further historical evidence of the extent of the Flemish invasion of England in those days is superfluous. It had assumed such dimensions that it could not but exercise a vast influence on the English personal nomenclature[1].

Besides these Flemish soldiers and colonists in England there was, especially in the 13th century, a considerable invasion of Flemish merchants and craftsmen from the important commercial and manufacturing districts of Flanders. Of the many extant charters proving the privileges of these Flemings in England it may be sufficient to quote the following, dated Windsor, Aug. 6. AD 1259 (from CCR II p. 22): "Grant to the burgesses and merchants of Ghent that they and their goods, whenever found throughout the king's dominions, shall not be arrested for any debt, whereof they are not sureties or principal debtors, unless the debtors be of their commune and power, having wherewith to satisfy the debt in whole or in part and the burgesses of Ghent, by whom that town is governed, have failed in justice to the king's subjects, who can prove such failure; moreover the said burgesses and merchants shall not lose any goods in the hands of their servants so far as they can prove ownership; moreover if the said burgesses and merchants

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[1] It seems, however, as if the Flemish influence on the language in general has been somewhat over-estimated by Heuser in his paper on this subject.

die within the king's dominions testate or intestate, the king will not confiscate their goods, but their heirs shall have them so far as they can prove ownership of the said goods, provided that knowledge (notitia) or proof can be had of the said heirs; and the said burgesses and merchants may safely come into the king's dominions and tarry there, paying the due customs, so that if at any time war arise between the King of France or others and the king, the said burgesses and merchants shall have warning to quit the realm with their goods within forty days".

The principal trades that were carried on by the Flemish craftsmen in England will be fairly well illustrated by the following extract taken at random from the list of the freemen of York: Laurentius Conyng, de Flandre, *webster* (AD 1352); Johannes Cayser, *patenmaker* (AD 1367); Nich. le yhonge, de Flandre, *bellowmaker* (AD 1372); Johannes Braban, *lynnenwever* (AD 1379); Nich. de Andwerp, *cordwaner* (AD 1379); Gilbertus Andwerp, *glover* (AD 1379); Nicholaus Parant, *draper* (AD 1381); Joh. van Seint Truden, *wever* (AD 1388); Will. Smythhusen, *payntour* (AD 1389); Galfridus, *cardemaker* (AD 1390); Petrus van Rode, *coleour maker* (AD 1400); Marcellus van Derhill, *carver* (AD 1413); Conradus van Dorvin, *sadeler* (AD 1414); Florentius Janson, *berebrewer* (AD 1416); Mathias van Dale, *taillour* (AD 1419); Willelmus Gent, *glasyer* (AD 1421); Nicholaus van Yende, *turnour* (AD 1452); Willelmus Albright, *cutler* et *buklermaker* (AD 1455); Johannes van Acon, *hatmaker* (AD 1464); Johannes Ducheman, *potmaker* (AD 1473). A probably Flemish craftsman is also Theodricus aurifaber, settled in England already in the time of Edward the Confessor and appearing as a landholder in DB. In later times we often find the goldsmith's trade in England carried on not only by Flemings but also to a comparatively great extent by natives of Cologne. Cf. e. g. Johannes de Colonia, goldsmith, mentioned among the freemen of York in 1388.

The name of the Flemings and of Flanders is preserved

in several English pl. ns, of which it may suffice to mention Flemingby in Cumberland (e. g. CCR II p. 250, AD 1281), a reminiscence of the Flemish settlement in this county which we have referred to above, the Flemish Way ('via Flandrensis') in Wales (CCR I p. 260, AD 1241) from the Flemish settlement there, Flemdich (Kent) RH II p. 436, and further Flanders Hall in Warwickshire "so denominated from Hugh, a younger brother to William Odingsells, because his ancestors came out of Flanders, whose descendants assumed it for their surname" [1]. Further instances are found in Bartholomew's Gazetteer.

Before bringing these fragmentary notes to an end it will be appropriate to devote a few pages to the appearance in England of settlers of some other nationalities, that have played a not unimportant part in the constitution of the Old and Middle English personal nomenclature. It seems likely that there were a large number of Franks in England in OE times, although they are not often mentioned in extant records. The earliest mention of French workmen occurs in Bede, Hist. Abbat. (Plummer's Edition, p. 368) in his description of the building of St. Peter's monastery at Wearmouth by Benedict Bishop: "Nec plusquam unius anni spatio post fundatum monasterium interiecto, Benedictus oceano transmisso Gallias petens, cementarios qui lapideam sibi æcclesiam iuxta Romanorum quem semper amabat morem facerent, postulauit, accepit, adtulit.... Proximante autem ad perfectum opere, misit legatarios Galliam, qui uitri factores, artifices uidelicet Brittaniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas æcclesiæ porticumque et caenaculorum eius fenestras adducerent. Factumque est, uenerunt; nec solum opus postulatum compleuerunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem huiusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt; artificium nimirum uel lampadis æcclesiæ claustris, uel uasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum. Sed et cuncta quæ ad altaris et

[1] Cf. Duignan, Warw. Pl. Ns p. 57.

æcclesiæ ministerium competebant, uasa sancta, uel uestimenta, quia domi inuenire non potuit, de transmarinis regionibus aduectare religiosus emptor curabat". The art of glass-making thus introduced by Benedict into the North does not seem to have flourished there long, for less than a century after his death an abbot of Wearmouth was obliged to send for a glass-maker to Germany, because the craft had been forgotten in that neighbourhood.

In Asser, De Rebus gestis Aelfredi (AD 868) we find the following statement about the various nationalities represented in Alfred's dominion: "Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli, Pagani, Britones et Scoti, Armorici, sponte se suo dominio subdiderant, nobiles scilicet et ignobiles quos omnes sicut suam propriam gentem, secundam suam dignitatem regebat, deligebat, honorabat, pecunia et potestate ditabat". It would seem as if the immigration of Franks into England is to some extent to be looked upon as the result of the Viking raids into their own country, to judge by the following passage in Lib. Hyde (AD 901—903, p. 82): "Eodem tempore invidens diabolus ecclesiæ felicitatibus, et peccatis hominum illic habitantium exigentibus, permisit Deus territorium Pontivorum (Ponthieu in Picardy) flagellari incursionibus inimicorum. In qua incursione urbes destructæ; monasteria eversa; ecclesiæ incensæ; et provincia est depopulata. Quapropter cultores terræ fugerunt et terram relinquentes, reliquias et pignora sanctorum secum asportaverunt, et ad sanctum Grimbaldum quidam nobiles laici et sapientissimi clerici, et religiosi diversorum monasteriorum monachi, more apum, ad oras Angliæ commigraverunt atque etiam sacratissima membra confessoris Christi Judoci e transmarinis partibus advexerunt". The Norsemen themselves, moreover, brought Frankish captives with them over to England, as may be seen from the following statement in Sim. Durh. AD 884: "Adveniente subito rege (Alfred) ad naves suas Dani confestim confugiunt concussi terrore, relicta sua arce et equis quos de Francia secum adduxerant, necnon captivis

quos de Francia de eadem gente ceperant". Some scholars are of opinion that the comparatively great number of Frankish moneyer's names in England, especially on the East Anglian memorial coins of St. Eadmund, is chiefly due to the before-mentioned arrival of Franks with the Norsemen. Grueber, in the Introduction to his Catalogue of coins (p. 44), suggests the following alternative explanations as to the appearance of the Frankish moneyers in England: "Either there were a great many Frankish soldiers in that portion of the Great Army which under Guthorm settled in East Anglia and Mercia; or the army brought over with it a certain number of Frankish captives (thralls), and these having some skill in metal work were employed to engrave dies and were at the same time authorized to place their names upon them; or finally, that the coins were issued by traders, and the majority of these in East Anglia at this time were men of Frankish descent"[1].

The foreign trade with England in those times was to a large extent carried on by the Franks, who supplied the Anglo-Saxons with articles they could not procure in their own country. From the description of the foundation of the monastery of Wearmouth given above we see that the materials indispensable for the building and adorning of it had to be procured from Gaul. And since the number of monasteries and churches that gradually sprang up in England was very large and these buildings in most cases were richly adorned, these circumstances alone will to no small extent have contributed to a lively commercial intercourse with the Franks. Anglo-Saxon merchants, too, early appear at the Frankish markets, as we are informed by a charter of St. Denis in 629, where persons are mentioned "qui veniunt de ultra mare pro vina et melle et garantia emendum". It is also probable that the merchants whom

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[1] Cf. also Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

a later charter of the same abbey mentions as Saxones are identical with Anglo-Saxons.

Besides the Franks, the Frisians were the chief merchants of Western Europe and their influence as a trading people must have been very great before the loss of their independence. In the first century they are said to have occupied the coastlands from the mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Ems, and in the seventh century they were still in possession of the greater part of modern Flanders. But in 689, the Frisian king Radbod was overcome by Pepin of Heristal in the battle of Dorstadt and compelled to cede West Frisia from the Scheldt to the Zuider See. In 734, Charles Martel inflicted a defeat on the Frisians which established the supremacy of the Franks in the north, and at the end of the century the subjection of the Frisians was complete. By the treaty of Verdun in 843, Frisia became part of Lotharingia, later on it was divided between the kingdoms of the East Franks and the West Franks, and finally, in 911, it was united to the kingdom of Charles the Simple of the West Franks, with the exception of East Frisia. By the situation of their country, the Frisians became the connecting link between England and the inland parts of the continent. Their richest and most important commercial city was Dorstadt, now Wijk bij Durstede, from which the routes of commerce led both to the north, to Scandinavia, and to the west, to Britain. It is likely that Frisian relations with England date from the times of the first Germanic conquest, in which Frisians are said to have taken part, and there are, indeed, some indications of a Frisian settlement in the Border country in the earliest times. And the missionary work that was carried out among the Frisians by the Anglo-Saxons was probably to some extent undertaken on account of the intimate knowledge of Frisian conditions that they had acquired by this early intercourse. An historical evidence of the commercial relations between the two countries is afforded

by the finding of OE sceattas in Frisia. Of an actual Frisian settlement at York in the time of Alcuin we are told in Vita S. Liudgeri: While Liudger, the future missionary among the Frisians, was still at York, a Frisian merchant killed an Anglian earl. For fear of the blood vengeance of the earl's relatives, all the Frisians settled in the city speedily left the country, and Alcuin thought it advisable for the safety of his pupil to make him leave with the others. In London, too, which already of old was the most important city in England, there was probably a Frisian settlement, although there seems to be no particular evidence of it in the annals. The earliest mention of Frisians in London occurs in Bede, HE L IV, C XX: "Ut ergo convaluit, vendidit eum (a young slave called Imma) Lundoniam Freso cuidam".

In the passage quoted above from Asser about the nationalities dwelling in England in King Alfred's reign we also find the Frisians represented. It is also well known that they took part in the warfare of the Norsemen in England both on the English and the Danish side. Cf. Asser (AD 877): "Tunc rex Aelfredus jussit cymbas et galeas, id est, longas naves fabricari per regnum, ut navali proelio hostibus obviaret; impositisque piratis in illis vias maris custodiendas commisit". The pirates mentioned were certainly Frisians, as may be gathered from the statement in AS Chr. 897 A: "þær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges gerefa 7 Wulfheard Friesa and Aebbe Friesa and Aeðelferð cynges geneat 7 ealra monna Fresiscra and Engliscra LXII 7 þara Deniscena CXX". Of Frisians on the side of the Norsemen in England there is a mention in Annales Lindisfarnensis in 867 (MG XIX, 502): "Sed non multa post dominica Palmarum ab Ubba duce Fresonum populus pene totus Northanhymbrorum occisus est cum suis regibus", and in Orderic Vitalis, who tells us that King Swein "ingenti potentia pollebat, universas regni sui vires contrahebat; quibus a vicinis regionibus et amicis auxilia magna coacervabat.

Adjuvabant eum Polenia, Frisia, necne Saxonia". These Frisians who fought on the side of the Norsemen, were probably as a rule from the northenmost parts of Frisia and the coasts of Jutland and will easily have been confused with their Danish neighbours and vice versa, as is the case with the above-mentioned Ubba, who seems to be identical with the Danish chieftain Ubba, mentioned in AS Chr. 870 F. These Frisians were mostly attracted to the services of the belligerents on account of their nautical skill, and it is therefore no wonder that the Frisian art of ship-building was familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, as may be seen from what appears to be the earliest information as to the beginnings of the English navy: "þa het Aelfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen ða æscas ... næron nawðer ne on Fresisc gescæpene ne on Denisc bute swa him selfum þuhte þæt hie nytwyrðoste beon meahten" [1].

A memory of the Frisians in England is probably preserved in the place-names *Fresantun* KCD 685 (c. AD 990), *Frisetuna (Fresetuna)*, *Friseby*, *Frisetorp* and *Friseham* in DB [2].

Of the numerous Germans in England in Middle Eng-

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[1] As Chr. 897.

[2] I fail to see the reasons that have caused Duignan (Warw. Pl. Ns p. 59) to explain the place-name *Freseley* (oldest form recorded by him from 1256) < OE *fyrs* 'furze, gorze', or Roberts (Suss. Pl. Ns p. 71) to derive *Friston* (oldest form given by him is *Fristone* from 1294) < OE *frið*, *fyrhð* 'forest land' or < OE *Frithes-*, though these explanations are of course phonetically possible and may be supported by the analogous instance of OE *Frithesleah* > *Friesley*. The above-mentioned place-names are most likely compounds with *Fris-*, *Fres-*; the difficulty is to determine whether these elements belong to an original personal name or, which seems most probable, the name of the Frisians. Although place-names in *-by* and *-thorp* need not necessarily have been direct influenced by the Norsemen (see Lindkvist, Intr. p. 53) it is not impossible that the formation of such names as *Friseby* and *Frisetorp* might be looked upon from the point of view of the joint action of Frisians and Norsemen in England at the end of the Old English period.

lish times, the Colonians in particular seem to have been represented in great numbers. Already in 1157 the existence of a Colonian guildhall in London is mentioned in a charter of Henry II, in which he promises to take the Colonians and their guildhall under his protection: "... Precipio vobis, quod custodiatis et manuteatis et protegatis homines et cives Colonienses sicut homines meos (proprios) et amicos et omnes res et mercaturas suas et possessiones, ita quod neque de domo sua Londonensi (gildhalla sua) neque de rebus neque de mercaturis suis aut aliquibus aliis ad eos spectantibus injuriam aliquam vel contumeliam eis faciatis nec fieri permittatis, quia (fideles mei sunt et ipsi) et omnia sua sunt in custodia et protectione mea. Et ideo firmam pacem habeant faciendo rectas consuetudines suas, et nullas exigatis ab eis novas consuetudines vel rectitudines, quas facere non debeant nec facere solebant" [1].

Finally, it will be appropriate to mention together two categories of merchants and money-lenders in mediæval England who sometimes bore Germanic names, viz. the Italians and the Jews. In the twelfth and especially in the thirteenth centuries we find a great many Italian merchants in England, mostly representatives of the large Italian trading companies of Florence and Lucca. Besides, they are not seldom found as bankers of kings and nobles. Of interest in this respect are the financial transactions of Archbishop Giffard. Moreover, some ecclesiastics of Italian descent seem to have taken possession of English benefices, but they were evidently not in favour with the inhabitants, for in the first half of the thirteenth century a league was formed for their expulsion under the leadership of a young knight, Sir Robert Twenge. The Germanic names often borne by these Italians were introduced into their country by the East Goths and the Lombards who conquered parts of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries.

[1] Hans. Urkund. Bd I (Halle 1876) p. 8. See further Bugge, Die nordeuropeischen Verkehrswege p. 262 ff.

It is remarkable that also many Jews had exchanged their Hebrew names for some of the names most common in France and Germany in this period. They seem to have come in from France in the wake of the Conqueror, and before long Jewish settlements are found in the chief cities such as London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford and York, where they made themselves known as the great money-lenders and bankers of those times. In 1275 Edward I had forbidden the "unbridled licence of their usury" in order to turn them to honest work. In 1290 came the final order of expulsion, and in a few months over 15000 exiles left England.

CHAPTER II.

Principal points in the ecclesiastical history of England which are of significance for the present investigation.

Christianity was introduced into England already in the second or third century, but it has left only few and scanty traces in buildings and literature behind it. Nevertheless, it was a regularly organized branch of the Catholic Church and possessed bishops at London, York, and probably also at Lincoln, and these bishops were duly summoned to take part in the great councils of the Church that were held in the fourth century. The bishopric and monastery founded by St. Ninian in 397 in Galloway formed a centre of missionary work in the northernmost parts of Roman Britain. About the same time St. Patric established the Church in Ireland. Everywhere in the British Islands during the fifth century schools arose and churches were built. In the middle of this century, however, the great invasion of Britain by the Germanic tribes commenced, and in less than a century and a half, Christianity had been almost en-

tirely uprooted in England by its heathen conquerors, and lived on only among the Celts of Wales and Strathclyde in Ireland, and among the Picts and Scots, where the missionary college of Iona had already been founded.

At the end of this century an event took place which paved the way for the conversion of the whole of England to Christianity, viz. the marriage of Aethelberht of Kent to the Frankish princess Berta, of which mention has been made above. Berta, like most of her country-women, was a Christian, and her family consented to the marriage only on condition that she should be allowed to bring with her as her confessor and chaplain her kinsman Liudhard, said to have been Bishop of Senlis. Their influence disposed the king to receive Christian missionaries kindly, and thus they were the pioneers of the subsequent conversion of England. The initiative of this conversion was taken by Pope Gregory, who in 596 sent Augustine and, according to Bede HE L I, C XXV, some forty companions to preach Christianity in England. Bede further tells us that the Roman missionary was also accompanied by a number of Frankish interpreters (de gente Francorum interpretes). Aethelberht finally presented himself for baptism and that with him so many of his subjects that it became necessary to elect a bishop. Augustine had to apply to the Church of Gaul to obtain consecration and was ordained by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles.

Owing to the large number of converts that soon gathered round Augustine, it became necessary for Gregory to send more priests into England. Among these we know the names of Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus, who arrived in 601. Within a few years, an archbishopric was founded at York. In London a church was built in honour of St. Paul, and at Rochester, a see was established in dependence on that of Canterbury. Somewhat later, a monk of Burgundy, who is known in the history of the Church as Felix, was sent by Pope Honorius to East Anglia, whose king Sigebert had

become a Christian when living as an exile among the Franks. Another missionary, a Roman priest named Birinus, was sent by the Pope to the West Saxons, among whom he founded a cathedral at Dorchester. In the middle of the century religious houses were also founded at Whitby, Lindisfarne, Chester, Peterborough and Boston.

Already in the earliest times, the Anglo-Saxons had visited continental schools and monasteries as is to be seen from the following description in Bede, HE L III, C VIII: "Nam eo tempore necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Brittania monachicæ conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum[1] monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso cælesti copulandas mittebant; maxime in Brige, et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio". Among these we may mention Aethelburh, daughter of King Anna of East Anglia, Sæthryth, a step-daughter of Anna, Earcongota, daughter of Sexburh, who all three in turn became abesses of Brie, a house generously endowed by Bathild, the English queen of Neustria. At Chelles, later refounded by Bathild, Hereswith, Anna's sister-in-law took the veil, and there Mildthryth, who on her return to England founded the monastery of Minster in Thanet, was educated. Among other well-known Anglo-Saxons who visited continental monasteries it may suffice to mention Benedict Bishop, a Northumbrian, who afterwards founded the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and Wilfrid, a monk of Lindisfarne, who paid visits to Lyons and Rome. Later on, however, it was not necessary to travel abroad in order to acquire a widened knowledge, because side by side with the organization of the Church went the foundation of schools for the training of the clergy. Especially under Ealdhelm and his contemporary,

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[1] Bede considers the Rhine to be the boundary between Teutons and Gauls; cf. HE L. I, C. II: "... Germanorum Gallorumque gentes qui Hreno tantum flumine dirimebantur".

Bishop Daniel, the West-Saxon monasteries became abodes of learning and literary activity, and under Aethelbert the school at York became a famous centre of education, receiving disciples not only from Britain, but also from Gaul and Germany.

Another side of the Church life of the England of those days was the active missionary work that was carried out among kindred Teutonic tribes on the continent, first of all by the Northumbrian Willibrord, who with twelve companions landed at the mouth of the Rhine. When the Frisian king Radbod refused to listen to his preaching, he turned to Pepin of Heristal, Duke of the Franks and conqueror of the south-western part of Frisia. By the support of the Franks, Willibrord was enabled to carry on successful work among the conquered Frisians and was consecrated archbishop in 696. One of his companions and successors, Swithberht, was consecrated archbishop of Dorestat and another Anglo-Saxon, named Aethelberht, worked successfully at Egmond in Holland. Another English missionary, a Northumbrian priest named Willehad, was sent by Charlemagne, to whom he had been forced to flee from the rage of the Frisians, to preach among the heathen Saxons settled between the Elbe and the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Bremen. The most famous of these missionaries, however, was Winfrith or St. Boniface, known as the Apostle of Germany. He preached in Thuringia, Frisia, and Hesse. During his continental sojourn Boniface kept up a constant correspondence with English churchmen and friends, among whom we find Archbishop Nothhelm, his successor Cuthberht, Ecgberht of York, and others. Of particular importance, especially for the interpretation of some of the names of LV, is the mention in one of the letters sent to Boniface by King Aelfward, of the system of exchanging name-lists of deceased persons that is further referred to on p. 12 f. Boniface founded four bishoprics in Bavaria, and many men and women came to him from England to assist him in his

laborious work. Of two of the West-Saxon helpers of Boniface, the brothers Willibald and Wunebald, we know from the memoirs written by an English nun of Heidenheim. Another of these was Lul, from the abbey of Malmesbury, who was stationed at Mainz. Burchard became Bishop of Würzburg, and Witta Bishop in Hesse. The before-mentioned Wunebald is mentioned as abbot of Heidenheim in Bavaria, where he was succeeded by his sister Waldburh, usually appearing as Walpurga. Lul's aunt Cynehild and her daughter Beorhtgyth were both abesses in Thuringia, and another Anglo-Saxon woman, Cynethryth, worked as a teacher in Bavaria. Finally, we may mention Lioba or Leofgyth, who acted as abess of Bischofsheim. The activity of these missionaries undoubtedly contributed to bring England into closer relationship especially with those parts of the mainland where they were working and to further the intercourse that had probably always been kept up more or less between the Anglo-Saxons and their continental kinsfolk.

From the letters exchanged between Fulc, Archbish. of Reims, and King Alfred (one is published in BCS 556) we see the interest ecclesiastics in Gaul took in English Church matters at this period. And a still closer relation between the affairs of the Churches on both sides of the Channel was brought about by the marriage of Alfred's daughter Aelfthryth or Elstrud(is) to Baldwin the Bald, Count of Flanders. Aelfthryth was specially interested in the monastery of Blandinium, or St. Peter's at Ghent, which she endowed with lands in Kent (see BCS 661)[1]. Her son Arnulf reformed the monasteries in his dominions and these

[1] These grants of land in England to foreign monasteries are of particular interest because a constant communication between the continental monasteries and their English possessions was no doubt maintained. Of grants made in the reign of Edward the Confessor we may mention that of Teynton (in Oxfordsh.) to the abbey of St. Denis and the Queen's grant of land in Sussex to the abbey of Grestain. Of other foreign monasteries holding

came to play a not unimportant part in the reformation of English monastic life, as will be seen below. These relations also brought a number of Flemish refugees into England, among others some monks of St. Bertin's, who were hospitably welcomed by Eadmund and allowed to live in the monastery at Bath. The ecclesiastical relations to Germany that were maintained in Aethelstan's reign are illustrated by the visit Cynewald, Bish. of Worcester, paid to several German monasteries, bringing with him large sums of money. In return, the monasteries remembered the names of their Anglo-Saxon benefactors in their prayers and inscribed them in their books. Thus, we find in Libri Confraternitatum S. Gall the names of Aethelstan, Wulfhelm and several others of their fellow-countrymen. When the churches of St. Owen at Rouen and St. Geneviève at Paris were to be restored, King Eadgar was asked to send a pecuniary contribution. The convent of St. Bertin's received alms from Archbish. Aethelgar. Ealdulf, Archb. of York, was venerated at Fleury for gifts he had sent the abbey, and Cnut helped Fulbert to bear the expences of the building of his cathedral. As a result of these intimate relations between the English and the continental clergy we have probably to consider

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land in England in the reigns of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror the following may be mentioned: the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent (Lewisham), the abbey of Fécamp (in Sussex), the church of Reims (in Northamptonsh. and Staffordsh.), the abbey of St. Owen at Rouen (in Essex), the abbey of the Holy Cross at St. Leufroy (in Surrey), St. Mary of Rouen (in Devonsh.), the abbey of Trouarn in the diocese of Baïeux (in Gloucestersh.), the abbey of Bernay (in Suffolk), the abbey of Jumièges (in Hampsh.), St. Evroul (in Gloucestersh.), St. Mary at Bec (in Wiltsh.), the nunnery at Villarium (in Dorsetsh.), the abbey of Lira (in Gloucestersh.), St. Mary of Cormeilles (in Newent), and the abbey of St. Peter sur Dive (in Northamptonsh.). And as late as 1285 we find the following statement in CCR II p. 312: "... et terram de Belingeham cum omnibus suis pertinentibus que est de feodo monachorum de Gant".

the introduction of minuscules in the tenth century, used in France from the time of Charlemagne.

The monastic system that prevailed among the Scots and was called the Rule of St. Columba rapidly spread southwards through the influence of Iona. It is also probable that the Roman missionaries in England confessed the Rule af St. Benedict and that a number of the monasteries which arose in various parts of England originally followed its ordinances. But even before the death of Bede there is a degeneration and a lowering of morality in monastic life, followed by a decay of learning, so that in King Alfred's time there was hardly a priest south of the Thames who could translate his service-book into English, as we are told by Alfred himself. And conditions grew still worse through the invasion of the Norsemen, who destroyed and burned all the churches and monasteries they came across. Already in 794 the monasteries of Jarrow and Lindisfarne were given to the flames and shortly afterwards the same fate was shared by the monasteries of Crowland, Peterborough and Ely. It was during one of these Viking raids in East Anglia at the end of the ninth century that Eadmund, the sub-king, suffered martyrdom. Afterwards, he was celebrated as a saint and martyr and the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's was raised to his memory. In the history of numismatics his name is well-known, since the so-called St. Eadmund coins were struck in his honour soon after his death. After the invasions of the Vikings south of the Humber had been put an end to by the peace of Wedmore in 878, King Alfred set to work to re-build the churches and monasteries that had been laid waste and to bring about a revival of the decayed learning. He also founded two or three monasteries himself and introduced foreign monks to help him in his work. "Primitus Johannem presbyterum monachum constituit, scilicet Ealdsaxonum genere; deinde ultramarinos presbyteros quosdam et diaconos; ex quibus cum nec adhuc tantum numerum quantum vellet,

haberet; comparavit etiam quamplurimos ejusdem gentis Gallicæ, ex quibus quosdam infantes in eodem monasterio edoceri imperavit et subsequenti tempore ad monachicum habitum sublevari“ [1]. But in spite of the efforts of King Alfred, the decline of the monastic system was proceeding rapidly and monastic life was becoming more and more secular. A reform became necessary in order to unite all the monasteries under one law, as was the case on the continent, where all the monasteries were governed by the Rule of St. Benedict. This Rule had also been introduced into England, as has been pointed out above, but it had gradually been forgotten or looked upon as a more or less foreign institution, and there was not one English monastery in the tenth century that professed it. When, therefore, Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury († 942), wished to become a Benedictine monk, he had to apply to Fleury in France to be consecrated. Afterwards he eagerly pleaded for the introduction of the Benedictinism in the English monasteries.

The first, however, to study the continental reform personally, was Dunstan, a West-Saxon, nominated Abbot of the monastery of Glastonbury and later Archbishop of Canterbury [2]. In the reign of Eadwig he was exiled and had sought refuge in the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent in Flanders, where the practical fruits of the new system could easily be studied, and where he learned to know the new monastic system thoroughly. By him and his chief assistants Aelfstan, Aethelwald, Oswald, and his successor Aelfric, the new Rule was introduced into England, where it soon became widely spread among the monks and so popular that in the reign of Eadgar alone forty new Benedictine foundations are said to have been established. The importance of this reform in the monastic life to the in-

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[1] Asser, De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi AD 893.

[2] Further particulars of his life and activity are found in Funke p. 94 ff.

troduction of continental monks and personal names into England cannot be exaggerated. The success of the activity of the monks had led to the ordination of a numerous secular clergy to assist them in their work among the converts. Among the secular churches were e. g. those of York, Rochester, and London. When the reform was carried through these secular priests were to a large extent expelled and replaced by Benedictine monks from the continent. This expulsion of the seculars began in Old Minster, and later, the same change is noticed at Ely, Peterborough, Thorney and many other monasteries in East Anglia.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Norman influence can be traced more strongly also in the life of the Church. On the death of Aelfweard, Bishop of London, his see was given to Robert, a monk of Jumièges and later Archbishop of Canterbury, another Norman was appointed bishop of Dorchester, a third became bishop of London after the above-mentioned Robert, and Norman prelates predominated in the counsels of the king. After the victory of Godwine and Harold, however, most of the Norman prelates appointed in Edward's reign were compelled to seek refuge across the Channel, and instead were nominated German, mostly Lotharingian, bishops to the most important sees, among them Walter of Hereford and Gisa of Wells.

As soon as William the Conqueror had subdued the whole of England, he set to work on ecclesiastical matters. In 1070 a council was held at Winchester and there appeared two papal legates who placed the crown on William's head. Their arrival marks the beginning of a systematic supplanting of native bishops and abbots by foreigners, in the majority of cases by Normans. Stigand, who had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury by Harold, was deposed and replaced by Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, York was bestowed on Thomas of Bayeux, Winchester was given

to Walkelin, Elmham to Herfast, Chichester to the Norman Stigand, Dorchester to Remigius, and most of the other important offices of the Church were given to Normans. No Englishman was appointed to a bishopric, nor did any Englishman occupy one till the reign of Henry I. It was also the policy of the Norman prelates to import foreign monks in order to raise the standard of learning and discipline among the English clergy. This explains the curious inscription on the tomb of Gundrada of Warren "Intulit ecclesiis Anglorum balsama morum", since we know that she imported Benedictines, among them a prior named Lanzo, to her Cluniac foundation of St. Pancras at Lewes. At this time a great number especially of Cluniac monks seem to have come into England and there arose several important Cluniac houses, e. g. Thetford, Wenlock, Bermondsey, Pontefract, Monk Bretton, Montacute and the nunnery Abbey de la Pré.

In the first half of the twelfth century, however, there was a decline of the Order, and the Cistercians began to spread rapidly all over England, owing to the influence of the Englishman Stephen Harding, who was abbot of their house of Citeaux in Châlons-sur-Saône. The first beginning of the Order in England dates from 1128, when a number of monks from l'Aumone in the diocese of Chartres settled at Waverley in Surrey. Within a short time several other Cistercian houses sprang up, mostly in the north of England, of which the most important was the house of Rivaulx, colonized direct from Clairvaux under the superintence of St. Bernard. About the middle of the twelfth century, there were no less than fifty Cistercian houses in England.

The Augustinian Order was founded in England at Colchester in 1105. Before long their houses became very numerous and finally exceeded even the Cistercians. The Carthusian Order, the most severe of the Benedictine Orders and founded by St. Bruno in 1084 at Chartreux, was

not established in England till 1180, in the reign of Henry III. To be mentioned are further two Orders which arose as a consequence of the Crusading movement, the "Knights Hospitallers", founded in 1092, and the "Knights Templars" established in 1118, for the purpose of protecting the pilgrims. Both orders had estates all over England.

In this chapter on the principal sides of the religious activity in the early Middle Ages which to some extent account for the appearance of the great number of Cont.-Germ. personal names in England, two other categories of continental Orders should not be passed over in silence: the Dominicans and the Franciscans. In the beginning of 1221, the first Dominicans, with their leader Gilbert de Fraxineto, arrived in England, where they were allowed to preach and were soon found in most of the larger towns. The first Franciscans landed in England three years later, and within two years the Order had established itself at Oxford, Cambridge, Northampton, Norwich and other towns. In less than thirty years they possessed about fifty monasteries in various parts of England.

CHAPTER III.

Some remarks on the connection between the events summarized in the preceding chapters and the occurrence of continental personal names in Old and Middle English times.

It may be of some interest to notice how far the above-mentioned English relations with the mainland are reflected in the occurrence and frequency of continental personal names in England. A statistical examination of the whole number of these names in the times with which we are here concerned would no doubt afford the strongest evi-

dence of the truth of historical statements as to English foreign relations, and furthermore even afford much fresh evidence of foreign influences of which history has nothing to relate. But an investigation into the number of the continental names actually recorded, especially in OE, can give only an imperfect idea of the real state of things, in the first place because only a fractional part of them have been handed down to posterity. The names of most of the foreigners in England in those days, all the mercenaries, thralls, craftsmen, merchants, and monks from the continent, have of course not found any place at all in the annals of the monks or in the royal or ecclesiastical charters which constitute the principal written sources of our knowledge of the personal names of ancient England. It is further to be borne in mind that the preservation of many, not to say all, of these documents is due to mere chance. The only category of continental craftsmen that will be fairly completely represented, as far as the personal names are concerned, is that of the moneyers, who as a rule placed their names on their handiwork. This accounts for the great number of continental personal names found on the coins in comparison with the number of extant names recorded in written documents before the Domesday Book. It goes without saying, however, that many of the coins, too, have been lost or at least not as yet recovered. Moreover, the material of names afforded by the coins, is often very defective in that many of the names are difficult to read or altogether illegible. Especially in the series of St. Eadmund coins, where many continental personal names occur, there are a number of names which we have reason to assume to be continental, too, but of which the original form can only be guessed at. Other circumstances that prevent us from recognizing the true number of continental names, even if recorded in a legible form, are that many of them are concealed in forms that are not to be distinguished from the native ones,

either owing to their original resemblance or to the Anglicizing of the foreign name or an alteration of the native form into correspondence with continental patterns. But in spite of these deficiencies in the existing material of continental personal names in England before the Conquest, it will, however, be of some interest to know that the frequency of these names, based on a calculation from the material collected in this book, pretty well corresponds to the greater or less intimacy of the English relations with the continent at different periods. From about the year 600 up to the time of Alfred the Great, the personal names in question are few and far between. In Alfred's reign, they are not numerous, either, that is true, but at any rate they exhibit an increase, which reaches its highest point in the reign of Aethelstan, the first king that opened a particularly lively intercourse with the continent. The reigns of his successors Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig, show a small decrease of the frequency, but under Eadgar, and especially under Aethelred II it rivals that of the time of Aethelstan. The number of continental personal names in the reign of Edward the Confessor is very large. The cause of this increase is, first of all, the intensity of foreign relations in his time, further the fact that from his reign a large number of coins are struck and preserved, and that the Domesday Book has handed down to us many names of persons holding land in England in the time of this monarch, which would certainly otherwise have been unknown.

It lies in the nature of the English politics in OE times, being chiefly drawn towards the various dominions of Gaul, as well as in the lively religious intercourse especially with this part of the continent, that the majority of the personal names on record are Frankish or rather West-Frankish, thus belonging to the same Germanic stock as the Flemish, Frisian, and Saxon dialects. And, as a matter of fact, not a few of the moneyer's names exhibit un-

mistakeable Romance features. As regards the names found in other documents, they must be judged with the utmost caution, since Romance characteristics in their forms are often to be ascribed to a later time, when England was under Norman orthographical influence. From Edward the Confessor onwards the personal names of Germanic origin that came in from France are more appropriately called Norman or French, according to their provience[1].

As regards the personal nomenclature of England after the Conquest, it offers a picture of most variegated appearance. Apart from the remains of the Anglo-Saxon stock of personal names, of the real extent of which no exact estimation can be ventured, and the Old Norse names which came in through the Vikings and the Normans, the pages of the ME documents are filled up by a large number of Norman and French names of German origin[2], so that the main part of the ME personal nomenclature may properly be styled Norman-French. We further meet with a great many Scriptural and classical names, to some extent occurring already in OE times and introduced chiefly by the mediation of Normans and Frenchmen, further Celtic names, either survivals of the indigenous Celtic stock of personal names in Britain or from France, and last, but not least, Flemish names, which clearly testify to the large number of Flemings in England which we have referred to in the first chapter. These Flemings have exercised a considerable influence on the English personal names not only by helping to spread many Cont.-Germ. names, but also by introducing names in -kin into England, where this name-element acquired the function of a productive

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[1] There are certainly also Provencial names in England in ME times but they cannot be proved to have been particularly frequent.

[2] I am of course speaking only of Christian names, not of surnames other than such as were originally Christian names.

name-suffix. There is, moreover, reason to think that some Scriptural names, current and particularly popular in Flanders, owe their existence or spread in England to Flemish influence.

LIST OF NAMES

A.

Abbo monet or manet ('monetarius') Keary Intr. p. XIV[1]; *Abbo* Lib. Hyde p. 188 (AD 957—975)[2]. The form *Abboe* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 98 is uncertain.

OG *Ab(b)o*[3] F 11. In other cases, it cannot as a rule be determined whether the p. n. *Ab(b)o* is native or not, since the OE form *Ab(ba)*[4] has often, and in later times generally, been Latinized as *Ab(b)o*. Hence *Abonis* (gen.) principis (BCS 22, AD 664) is also likely to be < OE *Aba*[5]. In

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[1] Keary (ibid.) considers it likely, however, that the coin on which this name occurs, like most other coins found at Crondale in 1828, is an imitation of a Merovingian triens, and that, consequently, *Abbo* never worked in England.

[2] "Sed et Oswaldus, postquam intronizatus est in sede Eboracensi, advocavit in patriam literatos homines . . ., de quibus literatis viris fuit *Abbo*, *Floriacensis monachus*, qui preter multam scientiæ frugem, quam Angliæ advexit, vitam Sancti Edmundi regis et matyris, rogante Dunstano, describsit."

[3] Related to Goth. *aba* 'vir' or a short form of compounds with *Alb-*; cf. Stark p. 28. *Abbo* is also found in Celtic, see Holder.

[4] The intervocalic *b* in *Aba* has probably been preserved by the influence of the geminated consonant of *Abba*. The regular OE form is seen in *Afa* and the dim. forms *Aefic*, *Efic*.

[5] The regular OE gen. form is seen in such pl. ns as *Abban crundel*, (æt) *Abbandune* BCS 491, AS Chr. 977 C. The pl. n. *Abbesdic* BCS 906 (AD 955) is assumed by Searle to contain a p. n. **Abb*, an unexampled form in OE personal nomenclature. The original form might have been **Abbandic*, in consideration of the fact that, in later charters, p. ns of weak inflection sometimes show strong inflection, when used as first members of pl. ns. Cf. also the reading *Abbedesdic* ibid. and the p. n. *Aebbe* below.

AS Chr. 656 E, in a passage that, according to Earle-Plummer p. 25, is a Peterborough insertion based on the aforementioned Latin charter in BCS, the same person appears as *Abou* ældorman, which form should be considered as an unsuccessful attempt of the scribe at constructing a nom. case out of the gen. case of the Latin original.

Acard, Achard: *Acard* de Jury ('Jury-la-Bataille') Hildebrand DB p. 337; *Acardus* presbyter (Suss.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 277; *Achard* Rot. Fin. p. 272 (AD 1205); *Achard* (surname) RC p. 200 (AD 1214); further instances in Bardsley p. 365.

Acard, Achard (Rom.) F 20, OF *Acart, Achart* Langlois p. 3 f. These forms may perhaps be < OG *Agihard, Akihart* (cf. *Ecard* below), as F (20) assumes; *c* [*k*] has been preserved before *a* in Norman and Picardian, whereas it has become *ch* in Centr. F. Another etymon of the above forms is, however, more probable, viz. OG *Aicard, Aichard, Eihhart* (Mod. G *Eichhardt*) F 48, recorded in OF as *Aicart, Aichart* Langlois p. 4. The first member is OHG *eih* (OE *āc*) 'Eiche'; *Aic-* is < LG **aik* (cf. Dutch *eik*) and *Aich-* is either a Centr. F form of the same etymon or < OHG **aih*. The *a* for *ai* in the above forms would then be due to OF reduction of *ai* > *a* in pretonic position[1]. *Āc-* also occurs as a native name-element in *Acuulf* LV (see Müller p. 94). From the point of view of the forms, *Acard* and *Achard* might certainly very well be native, but they have no doubt been introduced from the continent, since they are not on record in England till DB. Moreover, the phonetical value of the spelling *ch* (in *Achard*) is [*tʃ*], as is to be seen from the NE surname *Hatchard* with prothetic *h*. For the second member see **Actard*.

Acelina, see *Azelina*.

Acelinus, see *Azelin*.

***Actard**: *Agtard(es), Aetard(es)* mon. (Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 122, 145, 156.

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[1] Cf. Kalbow p. 107.

Both forms are no doubt intended to render one and the same name. The discrepancy is easily explained from the resemblance of *g* and *e* in the orthography of the coins. *Aetard* cannot be the original form, since there is no name-element with which the first member might be associated[1]. *Agtard* might perhaps stand for *Ahtard*, but considering the fact that *gt* for *ht* is very rarely met with in England or on the continent, I consider it likely that both forms stand for *Actard*, *c* sometimes having been confused with *g* and *e*, and vice versa, in the orthography of the coins. *Actard*, often recorded from Rom. sources, is a WF-Rom. form of OG *Ahtard* F 44[2]. The first member is either OHG *ahta* 'Beachtung, Aufmerken' or OHG *âhta* (OE *ōht*) 'feindliche Verfolgung, Acht'. The second member is OHG *hart* (OE *heard*) 'hart'.

Ada uxor LVD pp. 99, 102, 110 (13th and 14th c.); *Ada* Cummin ibid. p. 100 (13th c.); *Ada* (uxor Ricardi de Lucy) RC p. 132 (AD 1204); *Ada* (mater Alexandri episcopi) Linc Obit. p. 154, etc.

OG *Ada*[3] (fem.) F 153. In OE, *Ada* is recorded only as a male name, whereas the above fem. forms have been introduced from the continent. When *Ada* occurs in ME documents without any additional information about the gender (as e. g. in LVD p. 19), it is certainly in most cases to be interpreted as a fem. name, for it seems likely that, if occurring, the male name would appear in the Latinized form **Ado* or weakened into *Ade*. The latter form, which actually occurs in ME, is, however, rather to be considered as a pet form of *Adam*. *Ade* is

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[1] *Etard* (see *Aitard* below) can not be taken into account here, since the stem-vowel of this name is the result of a later AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*.

[2] Other instances of *ct* for *ht* are found in Heinzel p. 43 Germ. 37, 246, Sievers Ags. Gr. § 221. Cf. also Longnon p. 280,

[3] Etymology in Meyer-Lübke and literature there quoted, Sundén, Ell. Words p. 148.

further the gen. case of *Ada* (fem.) as well as of *Adam*, e. g. *Adam . . .* ejusdem *Ade* (Rot. Orig. I p. 97), beside which *Adames* sometimes occurs (e. g. ibid. p. 113).

Adalbert mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 99, 100, 101, 102.

OG *Adalbert*[1] F 163. *Adal-* is very rarely met with in OE for usual *Aeðel-*, and then always in Latin charters, which may have been influenced by continental spelling habits[2]. The usual Latinization of *Aeðel-* is *Adel-*. It seems pretty certain, therefore, that the present name has come over from the continent.

Adela (mater Stephani regis) Linc. Obit. p. 155; *Adele* (dat.) uxori (wife of Robert de Caunes, Som.) RLP p. 83 (AD 1208).

OG *Adela* F 159, where Rom. instances also occur. It is a short form of some fem. compound with *Adel-*, for which see *Adalbert*; cf. *Adela* = *Adelheida* Stark p. 16. As regards *Adela*, the mother of King Stephen, she was daughter of William the Conqueror (cf. FNC III pp. 112, 659 ff.) and probably named after her grandmother *Adela*, daughter of King Robert of France and mother of Matilda. Cf. *Adelo* below.

Adelais(a), **Adeliz(a)** etc.: *Adelais* LVD p. 44; *Adelaisa* ibid. p. 18; *Athelays*, *Adelasia* vicecomitissa (also called *Adelize*) CG I pp. 81, 125, 186, II p. 129; *Adeleisa* CCR I p. 424 (AD 1253); *Atheleys* LVD p. 53; *Aaleis* ibid. p. 79; *Alays* ibid. p. 111; *Adales*, *Atheles* ibid. pp. 8, 55; *Alesia* (Dev.) RB pp. 621 (AD 1211—12); *Adeliz* seu *Adeliza* (uxor Hugonis de Grentemaisnil, Heref., Leic.)[3] Ellis, Intr. I p. 364; *Adeliz* (Bedf.) ibid. II p. 3; *Adeliz* Hist. Ab. II pp.

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[1] First member is OHG *adal* (OE *æðelu*) 'edles Geschlecht' or OHG *adal*, OS *aðal* (OE *æðele*) 'von gutem Geschlecht'; second member is OHG *beraht*, OS *berht* (OE *beorht*) 'hell, glänzend', of which *-bert* is to be considered as a Rom. form. Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 154 and Franck, Afr. Gr. § 113, 2.

[2] E. g. BCS 250, 641, 661.

[3] Daughter of Ivo of Beaumont, see FNC IV p. 232, foot-note 5.

176, 177 (AD 1100—1135); *Adeliza* Regina CG I p. 63 = *Aðelis* (of Louvain)[1] AS Chr. 1121 E; *Adeliza* (daughter of William the Conqueror) FNC III p. 695; *Adaliz*, *Atheliza*, *Adliz*, *Adalici* LVD pp. 16, 17, 50, 71, 105; *Aðalisa*, *Athelisa*, *Adhelisa* ibid. pp. 15, 16; *Aaliza* ibid. pp. 64, 68, 83, 84, 97, 101; *Aaliz* ibid. pp. 19, 62, 98, 100, 103, 104; *Aeliz* (uxor Normanni) Linc. Obit. p. 153; *Aliza*, *Aliz* LVD pp. 2, 27, 32, 65, 82, 83, 98, 102; *Aliz* ibid. pp. 47, 83; *Allise* ibid. p. 57; *Alicia* ibid. pp. 38, 65, 72, 85, 88, 93, 94, 99; *Ailize*, *Ailiz* ibid. pp. 16, 19.

OG *Adalhaid*, *Adelheid*[2] (F 169 f.) is the ultimate origin of most of the above forms. *Aal-*, *Ael-* is from *Adal-*, *Adel-* with NF loss of intervocalic *d*. For *Al-* (in *Alays* etc.) see *Albert*, for *Ail-* (in *Ailiz*) see *Adelina*. None of the forms found in England present the original termination *-haid*, *-heid*, which shows that they have not been introduced from Germany. *-ais* represents a NF form of *-haidis* (the usual Latinizing of *-haid*, for which see Kalbow p. 29). *-eis(a)*, also found in OF *Aaleis*, might reflect the diphthong of OG *-heid*[3], but in the present case it is rather due to the interchange of *ai* and *ei* in ME documents. *Adelasia*[4] is a Latinized form of **Adelas*, of which the second member is due to the interchange of *ai* and *a* that is in a few cases to be noticed in OF p. ns; cf. *Aupais* and *Aupas* < *Albhaidis*, Kalbow p. 106, and *Enguelas* beside *Engelais* Langlois p. 192. *-es* and Latinized *-esia* (in *Adales*, *Alesia*) are merely orthographical varieties of *-ais* and **-aisia*, cf. *Airard* below. As regards *-iz(a)*, *-is(a)*, I am inclined to assume with Kalbow p. 107 that they are due to the influence of the dim.

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[1] Queen of Henry I, see FNC IV p. 229. She is called *Aeðelic* in AS Chr. 1127 E.

[2] First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG *heit* (OE *hād*) 'persona, sexus, Rang, Stand', not occurring in OE p. ns.

[3] OG *ai* became *ei* in the eighth century, see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 44.

[4] If not a mistake for *Adelaisa*.

ending *-izza* (OF *-isse*) and not from *-haid*, with loss of the first component of the diphthong, as Schultz (p. 184) thinks[1]. The forms *Adelid*, *Ailida*, *Ailith* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 2, 9, *Aeðelida* KCD 945 (11th c.) are < OE *Aeðelgyð*. A confusion between this name and *Adeliz* has sometimes taken place: Queen *Adeliz* is called *Adelide* (dat.) Anecd. Oxon. 14 and *Adelidis* RC p. 81.

Adelard, **Alard**: *Adelard* of Lüttich FNC II p. 443[2]; *Adthelardo* le Flemīg (Cant.) RH II p. 497 (Edw. I.); *Ayllard* Flandr̃, *Ayllardo* (dat.) Flandrensi CRC p. 67, CCR I p. 355 (AD 1251); *Alard* le Flemeng CCR I p. 326 (AD 1247), Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 57; Henr̃ et) *Alardo* (dat.) (mercatoribus de Lovañ) CR I p. 124 (AD 1212); *Alard* de Cotekyn of Zeeland CPR II p. 373 (AD 1311).

OG *Adalhard*, *Adelard*[3], *Alard* (very common) F 170 f. In most other cases, *Adelard* represents the very common OE *Aeðelheard*[4]. As for *Ayllard*, it might certainly be derived from OG *Agilard* F 32, but is rather from *Adelard*, exhibiting the same development as OE *Aeðel-* > *Ail-* for which see **Aegelbert*. The first member of *Alard* might be OHG *al* (OE *eall*) 'ganz'[5], but is probably as a rule to be derived from *Adel-*.

Adelelmus, a Norman monk of Jumièges, Abbot of Abingdon 1071—1084, FNC IV p. 478.

OG *Adalhelm*, *Adelelm*[6] etc. F 172. Phonetically not to be distinguished from the common OE name *Aeðelhelm*[7].

Adelina, **Alina** etc.: *Adelina* joculatrix (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 278; *Adelina* LVD pp. 58, 68 (12th c.); *Adelina* Lib.

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[1] See also Grape, p. 21.

[2] Brought over by Harold 'to be the head of the educational department of his foundation'.

[3] First member as in *Adalbert*, second member as in **Actard*.

[4] Not *Aeðelweard*, as Zachrisson says (AN Infl. p. 110).

[5] Cf. Müller p. 100, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 109, Gröger p. 7 ff.

[6] First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG *helm* (OE *helm*) 'Helm'.

[7] Which usually appears in the Latinized form *Adelelmus*.

Hyde p. 66; *Athelina* LVD p. 60; *Athelina* (wife of Rogerus de Bello Monte) ibid. p. 53 (13th c.); *Aalina* ibid. p. 97 (13th c.); *Aelina* (wife of Robert le Bigod) Rot. Oblat. p. 465 (AD 1213); *Alinam* (acc.) (wife of Hugo de Normanvill') Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 8 (AD 1200); *Aline* (gen.) (wife of Alanus Basset) RM II p. 53; *Alina* RH II p. 332 (Edw. I.); *Ayelina* relicta ibid. p. 642 (Edw. I.); *Aillinā* (acc.) Fines I p. 121 (John); *Edelina* Corbet Rot. Orig. I p. 29 (Edw. I.); *Edelina* LVD p. 83 (13th c.); *Egelina* de Chambernoun (Dev.) FA I p. 422 (AD 1346), etc.

Adalina and *Adelina* are given by F p. 160 only from Rom. sources. They are derivatives from the OG name-element *Adal-*, *Adel-* (see *Adalbert*) formed by means of the Rom. fem. dim. suff. *-īna*, or as Kalbow (p. 133) assumes, from OF *Ade* < *Adda* (on account of the preservation of the dental) + *el* + *īna*. For the forms *Aal-*, *Ael-*, *Al-* see *Adelais(a)*. *Ayellina*, *Aillina* are most probably < *Adelina*[1], although OG **Agilina* (cf. *Agilin* and *Aglina* F 29) might exhibit the same forms. *Edelina* is due to the occurrence of *Edel-* as a ME sideform of *Adel-* (< OE *Aeðel-*). *Egelina* is either from **Agilina* or rather a merely graphical variant of *Ayelina* or from *Edelina*, the first member showing a development of *Edel-* > *Egel-*, analogous to that of *Aeðel-* > *Aegel-*[2]. **Adelinus** (Linc.) RB p. 375 (AD 1166); *Adelinus* exchactor (Linc.) RH I p. 333 (Edw. I.); *Adelyn* (surname, Norf.) ibid. p. 498 (Edw. I.), etc.

Cf. OG *Adalin* F 160 (from OG and Rom. sources), the male equivalent of the preceding name. It is not impossible, however, that it may sometimes have been coined in England with the NF suff. *-īn*; to be taken into account is, further, the possibility that it may be < OE *Aeðelwine* under NF influence (*Aþeline* dux BCS 1113 is = *Aeþelwine* dux ibid. 1114). Cf. also *Adelin* < OE *Aeðeling* in Gaimar.

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[1] Cf. *Ayllard* under *Adelard* and the pl. n. *Adlingflet* : *Ayalinflet* Giff. Reg. p. 20 (AD 1267—68).

[2] Cf. **Aegelbert*.

Adeliz(a), see *Adelais(a)*.

Adelo (Yorks) Ellis, Intr. II p. 3.

OG *Adelo* F 159, the male equivalent of *Adela* (above). No corresponding OE hypochoristic form of compounds with *Aeðel-* is on record.

Adelulfus Ellis Intr. II p. 278[1]; *Adelulfo* (dat.) Flandr MRS pp. 94, 145, 152; *Adalulfi* (gen.) BCS 661 (AD 918) is the son of Aelfthryth (daughter of King Alfred) and Baldwin II., Count of Flanders.

OG *Adelulf*[2] etc. F 182. As a rule, *Adelulfus* is the Latinized form of the common OE name *Aeðelwulf*.

Adradus mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 102, 103, 104, 105.

OG *Adrad* (Rom.), *Adarad* F 157. The first member *Ad(a)-* belongs to *Adal-*, for which see *Adalbert*[3]. *Ad-* is also found in OE names: in *Adhysi* LV, the first member is to be explained with Müller (p. 77) as OE *ād* 'rogus'. In other cases, mostly in Latin charters, it occurs for various name-elements. Thus the West Saxon King *Aeðeluulf* BCS 478 is called *Adulf* in the Latin text of the same charter[4]; *Aldwulf* episc. BCS 318, 322 is probably the same as *Adulf* episc. ibid. 317; King Alfred's son *Eadweard* AS Chr. 910 appears as *Adward* BCS 531; *Eadgive* BCS 779 is ≐ *Adgive* ibid. 775. In later charters, *Ad-* < *Ead-* may be due to the regular development of OE *ĕa* > *a*, the originally long diphthong of *Ead-* having been shortened before a consonant-group. — The second member is OHG *rât* (OE *rād*, *rēd*) 'Rat'. On the coins, *a* and *æ* are not always distinguished, but it seems likely that, if the present name were

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[1] "This Adelulfus may have been an English Aethelwulf, but he was more likely an adventurer from Flanders, where the name is also found."

[2] First member as in *Adalbert*; second member is OG *wolf, wulf* (OE *wulf*) 'Wolf'. On the loss of *w* in OG and OE see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 69, 4. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 173, 3.

[3] Cf. Wrede, Ostg. p. 114.

[4] Cf. also Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 103.

native, the second member would exhibit the usual form *-red(us)*, (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 57, remark 2). Moreover, the Latin ending not often found in moneyer's names to some extent speaks in favour of Rom. origin. It is in the present case most probable that this is one of the many WF-Rom. monyer's names, occurring especially on the St. Eadmund coins.

Aebbe Friesa AS Chr. 897 A[1].

Cf. OG *Abbi, Abbe* (Frisian *Ebbe*)[2] F 11. OE equivalents are found in *Ebbi, Ebbe* (and the fem. form *Aebba*), see Müller p. 63 (66) and Williams p. 420 f.

Aegel-: for compounds with this element see **Aegelbert*.

***Aegelbert**: *Aegelbryht* of Galwalum AS Chr. 650 A. Cf. MS F 650 (AS Chr. II p. 23): "Her forðferde Birinus se biscop, *Aegebertus se Frencisca* was gehadod". In Bede HE L III, C VII he is called *Agilberctus, natione quidam Gallus.*

The same person is *Agilbert*, Bish. of Paris 666—680, mentioned by F 30. *Agil-*, a very common OG name-element, belongs either to **agja-* 'Spitze, Schwertschneide', to **agan* 'sich fürchten' or Goth. *agls* 'unschicklich, schimpflich'[3]. *Aegel-* has been made the subject of a detailed investigation by Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 101 ff., where he explains the *Aegel-* (*Ail-, Eil-*) forms which appear abundantly in post-Conquest times as due to a development of OE *æðel* > *æël* (with AN loss of the dental) > *ægel, æil* > *ail* (*eil*), which explanation is no doubt correct. As regards the names with *Aegel-*, occurring on coins from Aethelred, they cannot be explained in the same way, but are considered by Zachrisson to contain a native name-element *Aegel-, Egel-*. The latter form occurs as the first member of *Egelmund* LV,

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[1] One of the sixty-two persons of Frisian and English nationality killed in a fight against the Danes.

[2] Probably to be associated with *Abbo* above.

[3] Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 7, Bruckner p. 218, Schönfeld p. 3; for second member see *Adalbert.*

and has been dealt with by Müller p. 105, who gives several other names which he considers to be compounded with the same native name-element. An examination of these names shows, however, that if we eliminate those which are continental (the above-mentioned **Aegelbert* and *Aegelmund*, a Lombard, in Widsiþ), *Egillaf* (which is ON), those, occurring in Latin charters of doubtful date, where they may be the result of the afore-mentioned transition of *Aeðel-* > *Aegel-* and lastly a couple of names from Bede, HE, which do not occur there, only one certain instance of a compound with *Egel-* remains, viz. the above-mentioned *Egelmund*. Now, it may be questioned whether there is any reason for supposing that LV contains continental p. ns. Müller, who has dealt with the names appearing in it, has not touched this question, although it certainly is of importance for the explanation of some of them. One well-known instance of a continental p. n. in LV is *Karlus*, universally assumed to signify *Charlemagne*. His name has probably been entered on account of some gift he had sent to the monastery of Durham. In a seventeenth-century notice, LV is described as "containing the names of the benefactors towards St. Cuthbert's Church from the very original foundation thereof"[1]. It is possible, however, that not all the names found there represent benefactors of the monastery. It is well known, especially from the continental Libri Confraternitatum S. Gall, that a 'Gebetsverbrüderung' or exchange of prayers especially for the dead took place between different monasteries. Several instances are given by Hahn, die Bonifazischen Briefe p. 113 f. Among other things, we are told that King Aelfward of East Anglia thanks Bonifazius for his mentioning his name in the prayers, and that he promises him that prayers shall be read for him in seven monasteries of his kingdom. Moreover, Aelfward asks him annually to

[1] LVD Intr. p. VII.

send a list of persons deceased, for whom prayers shall be read. Similar examples of the exchange of name lists are given by Stevenson in his Intr. to LVD p. ix, of which I venture to quote the following: "In a letter of Kineheard, bishop of Winchester, to Lull, archbishop of Metz, we see the process in operation; the names of the deceased friends were interchanged, and, on the arrival at their respective destinations, they were transmitted by the bishop to the various ecclesiastical establishments in his diocese . . . As the system progressed, it became customary for various ecclesiastical societies to enter into arrangements among themselves by which the benefactors to any one establishment reaped the benefit to be derived from the prayers of the whole association". I therefore consider it likely that, beside the above-mentioned *Karlus*, there occur in LV other names of continental persons for whom prayers were to be read for one reason or another. Hence it is very well possible that *Egelmund* is < OG *Egilmund*, a mutated form of *Agilmund* F 33, and this seems even likely if we take into account that, with the exception of this instance, compounds with *Aegel-* do not seem to appear till about two centuries later on the coins of Aethelred II. and his successors, in whose reigns they may have been introduced by some of the continental moneyers of whom there were many working in England. — The moneyer's names compounded with *Aegel-*, *Egel-* are the following: *Aegelbriht* (Cnut) Grueber p. 243; *Aegelferð* (Cnut) ibid. (cf. OG *Agilfrid* F 31); *Aegelmær, -mer* (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 243, 339, 340 (cf. OG *Agilmar* F 33); *Aegelman* (Harold I.) ibid. p. 302 (cf. *Aigliman*, *Aclemans* (Rom.) F 33); *Aegelric, Egelric* (Aethelred II.—Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 197, 298, 329, 388, 400 (cf. *Aclerik* (Rom.) *Egelrich* F 34); *Aegelsig, Aegelsie, Aeilsie* (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 243, 454, 455 (not on record in OG); *Aegelward, Aegelwer(d)* (Cnut—Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 282, 320, 406, 412 (cf. OG *Agilward* F 34 f.); *Aegelwig, Egelwig* (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) ibid.

pp. 275, 398, 400 (cf. OG *Eilwihc* F 35); *Aegelwi(ne)*, *Egelwine*, *Eilwine* (Aethelred II.—Edw. Conf.) ibid. pp. 197, 285, 302, 386 (cf. OG *Agilwin* F 35); *Eilnoð* (Edw. Conf.) ibid. p. 457 (not on record in OG). If *Aegel-*, *Egel-* is really absent from native names, some of those given above will be hybrid formations.

Aegenulf, see *Aginulfus*.

Aelismer mon., quoted from Ruding, Annals of the coinage of Great Britain.

The first member does not occur in OE p. ns[1]. If correct[2], it seems most likely to be < *Elis-*, which appears as first member of some p. ns in France, and which came into use on account of the Scriptural names *Elisabeth*, *Elisachar* and *Eliseus*, occurring there in the time of Charlemagne already[3]. The second member is OG *mâri* (OE *mære*) 'herrlich, berühmt'.

Aernis(ius), see *Ernegis*.

Aeðelbrand mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 163; *Aetlebrant*, *Etlebrant* (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 972—992).

The second member is absent from native OE p. ns and indicates either ON or OG origin[4]. *Aðalbrandr* is instanced by Lind 3 from the 13th c., but the suggestion is put forward that it is a German loan. Hence the above forms are no doubt to be derived from OG *Adalbrand*[5] F 164. *Aeðel-* (in *Aeðelbrand*) is Anglicized, if the name is not simply to be explained as a hybrid form of native *Aeðel-* and ON or OG *-brand*.

The stem-vowels of *Aetle-*, *Etle-*, too, have probably been influenced by OE *Aeðel-*, *Eðel-*. As regards the metathesis

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[1] *Elesa* and *Elesing* in the West Saxon Genealogy (AS Chr. 552 A) are not good evidence in the present case. For *Alis(ius)* see below.

[2] And not a mistake for *Aelf-*.

[3] Cf. Longnon p. 302.

[4] Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 191.

[5] First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG *brant* 'Schwert'.

of *l*, the following OG parallels may be adduced from F 163 ff.: *Adlevert*, *Adlegard*, *Adlegaud*, *Atleydis*, *Adlemar*, *Atlulf*. Most of these instances are taken from Rom. sources, whence both the metathesis and *t* < *þ* (cf. Kalbow p. 135 f.) are to be ascribed to Rom. influence; see also Braune Ahd. Gr. § 167, 9. And lastly, the *t* in *-brant* is due to the Frankish interchange of final *d* and *t*, for which cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 90.

Aeðelhere Friesa AS Chr. 897 A[1].

A common name both in OG and OE[2]. The present form is probably Anglicized.

Aetard, see **Actard*.

Aetlebrant, see *Aeðelbrand*.

Aginulfus LVD p. 64; *Aegenulf*, *Aegnulf* mon. (Aethelred II.) Hildebrand p. 97, Grueber p. 197; *Aeinulf* minister[3] BCS 1164 (AD 965); *Aeinulf* miles ibid. 1257 (AD 970); *Agenulfi* (gen.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 8; *Agenulfus* (Wilts.) ibid. p. 279; *Einulf(us)* ibid. p. 94; *Eginulfus* Aquilensis[4] FNC III p. 504; *Ainulfus* Hist. Ab. II p. 243 (AD 1154—89); *Ainolf*, *Aynolf*, *Aynulf* (surnames) RM I p. 123, RH II p. 222 (Edw. I.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 38 (AD 1202), etc.

OG *Aginulf*, *Agenulf*, *Einolf* etc. F 41. The first member, *Agin-*, which does not occur in native OE names, is an extension of **ag* 'spitz' or belongs to **agan* 'sich fürchten' according to Bruckner p. 218 f. The second member is the same as in *Adelulfus* above. ON origin is not probable. See Björkman, Namenk. p. 31.

Agtard, see **Actard*.

Aia (male) LVH (c. AD 1030) quoted from Searle.

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[1] Cf. *Aebbe* above.

[2] First member as in *Adalbert*, second member is OHG *hari*, *heri* (OE *here*) 'Heer'.

[3] The same person is probably *Eignulf* minister, ibid. 1280 (AD 972).

[4] Mentioned by Orderic as one of the Normans killed at Hastings.

Cf. OG *Aio* < *Agio* F 16, OF *Aie* Langlois p. 9 f.[1] But perhaps Celtic (see Holder), as is certainly the name *Aio*, borne by a Lombard in the fourth cent.

Aimar: Ernald *Aimar* (mercator de terra Coñ Thološ) CR II p. 159.

This name is either from OG *Agimar*[2] F 23 with the development *agi-* > *ai* referred to in preceding name, or from OG *Adamar* or *Hadamar*[3] (with OF loss of *h*) F 156, 795 f. *Aimar*, *Aimer* are not unfrequently met with in ME documents, where, in most cases, they are to be derived from a native etymon, as has been suggested by Zachrisson (AN Infl. p. 105), who explains them from *Aethemær* < *Aethelmær*, with loss of the dental through AN influence and insertion of *i* to avoid hiatus. Cf. also *Adomari* (gen.) RH I p. 10 = *Aymer* CCR I p. 444. Se further **Haimer*.

Aingot (Dev.) Rot. Fin. p. 282.

No OG equivalent seems to be on record. For the first member see *Aginulfus*; the second member is related to the name of the *Gauti* (OE *Geatas*, ON *Gautar*). On this element see, further, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 3, F 607, Bruckner p. 254, Björkman Pers. p. 68 and *Mangod* below.

***Ainild**: *Ainildam* (acc.) (Norf.) Ped. Fin. I p. 187 (AD 1196); *Agnilda* CMR III p. 267; *Aynild* (surname) RH I pp. 445, 449 (Edw. I.); *Eynild* (Suff.) ibid. II pp. 166, 184 (Edw. I.), etc.

OG *Aginildis*, *Ainhildis* (Rom.), *Einhilt* F 39. For the first member see *Aginulfus*; the second member is OS *hild* (OE *hild*) 'pugna', a common name-element in both languages. Cf. *Haganild* below.

Ainmer mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 105.

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[1] On the WF-Rom. development of *agi* > *ai* see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 105, Kalbow p. 93.

[2] For the members see *Echebrand* and *Aelismer*.

[3] For the first member of *Adamar*, see *Adradus* above; *Hada-* is from OHG *hadu* (OE *heaðu*) 'Kampf'. Cf. Kalbow p. 134.

OG **Aginmar* is not given by F. For the first member see *Aginulfus*. *Ain-* < *Agin-* cannot, in this case, represent a native development, but is due to the WF-Rom. transition of *agi* > *ai*, for which see *Aia*. For the second member see *Aelismœr; -mer* for OG *-mar* might depend on adaptation to the usual OE form *-mer* but is, in this case, rather to be explained as OF. Cf. Mackel p. 38, Kalbow p. 89.

***Ainsie**, *Aynsie* minister BCS 917 (AD 955).

Not given by F. Names in *-sige*[1], moreover, are rarely met with in OG. It is therefore probably a hybrid form of Continental *Ain-* (see *Aginulfus*) and native *-sige*, or a mistake for *Aylsie* < OE *Aeðelsige*.

Airard (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 279.

Cf. OG *Agirardus*[2] F 42. Another explanation is, however, possible. According to Stolze (p. 9), *ai* in DB denotes not only the diphthong *ai* but also, in some cases, *e*[3]. Hence it is possible that Airard stands for *Erard*; cf. *Erhart* below and the following name.

Aitard, Etard: *Aitard* (Chesh.), *Aitardus* (Norf. Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 279; the same person is called *Ettard* ibid. p. 314; *Aitard* de Vals ('Vaux') Hildebrand, DB p. 344; *Aithard* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 449; *Atardo* (dat.) de Alagoñ RLP p. 3 (AD 1201); *Ethardus* LVD p. 110; *Etard* de Bleu RCR II p. 72 (AD 1199); *Etardo* (dat.) CR I p. 440 (AD 1220); *Etardi* (gen.) (formerly abbot of Fécamp) ibid. p. 577 (AD 1223); *Etardi* (gen.) RB p. 249 (AD 1166) = *Attardi* foot-note ibid.

OG *Eidhart* and *Aitard* (Rom.) F 46. The first member is OHG *eit* (OE *āð*) 'ignis, rogus'[4]. *Et-* < *Ait-* is due to

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[1] OHG *sigu*, OS *sigi* (OE *sige*) 'Sieg', a very common OE name-element.

[2] First member is a chiefly WF extension of **ag*. See F 41; second member see **Actard*.

[3] which is explained by the AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*, for which see Menger p. 43 ff. and Behrens p. 123 ff.

[4] Cf. also Bruckner, p. 100.

the AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*, for which see preceding name. *At-* is from *Ait-* with OF loss of *i* in pretonic position. See *Acard* above[1].

Alard see *Adelard.*

Alberia LVD pp. 62, 70.

OG *Alberga, Albergia* F 163. The first member is *al* or *adel*, see *Adelard.* For the etymology of the second member see Schönfeld p. 13 and literature there quoted. In *-beria, i* has the phonetical value of [*dʒ*], being the result of the regular OF fronting of *g* in this position. As regards the occurrence of this element in OE. p. ns, Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands p. IX has made the following statement: "Die seltene Namensendung *beorg* geht schon im VIII. Jh. in *burg* über und der häufige Schluss von Frauennamen *burg* wird zu *berga* latinisirt". Names in *-berga* make their first and principal appearance in the Latin MSS of Bede's HE, whereas in later authors (King Alfred and Flor. Wig.) they usually appear in the form *-burg(a).* It may be that Liebermann is right in his assumption that *-berg* once existed as a native name-element, although it has fallen out of use at an early date. But since it is found in OE only in Latin documents or in translations from Latin originals, I prefer to consider it as an instance of WF influence on OE personal nomenclature: the OE element *-burg* has been replaced by *-berg(a)*, one of the most common endings of WF fem. p. ns[2].

Albericus camerarius (Hants. Wilts.), *Albericus* comes[3] (Wilts. Buck. Oxf. etc.), *Alberi(c)* (Dev.), *Albericus* de Ver[4] (Cambr. Hunt. Ess.), (Galterus filius) *Alberici* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 367, 498, II pp. 12, 280, 321; *Alberico* (obl.) legato Ann. Wig. p. 378 (AD 1138); *Alberico* (obl.) de Capiī CR I p.

[1] For second member see **Actard.*

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, p. 56.

[3] = Comes *Albricus* LVD, p. 66. Cf. Ellis, Intr. I p. 367, foot-note 2.

[4] Cf. FNC V, p. 757.

193 (AD 1215); *Albericum* (ack.) domini Papæ notarium Ann. Wint. p. 98 (AD 1258); *Albericus* de Mundavilla LVD p. 81 (13th c.); *Aubri* (surname, Kent) RH II p. 410 (Edw. I.) etc.[1]

OG *Albericus*[2] etc. F 71. This is a stereotyped Latin form of which the English equivalent is *Aelfric*, *Alfric*. It is not impossible that the native form may sometimes have been Latinized in the same way. *Aubri* is the OF form (cf. *Aub(e)ri* Langlois p. 52), with the regular vocalization of *l* > *u* and the development of *-ric* > *ri*, for which see Mackel p. 146.

Alberica, *Albrica* CMR I, p. 418; *Albrica* de Stowe (Cambr.) RB p. 530 (AD 1210—12).

A fem. form of the preceding name.

Albert: *Albrt* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 105; *Albert* mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 155; *Albart* mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 11; *Albertus* Lothariensis (Heref. Bedf.), *Albertus* capellanus (Kent), *Albertus* clericus (Berks. Rutl.), *Albertus* (homo Drogonis de Beurere) (Yorks.), *Albertus* (homo Rogeri Pictaviensis) (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 367, II pp. 12, 280; *Albertum* (ack.) Francesium (Norf.) RB p. 398 (AD 1166); Magister *Albertus* (domini papæ notarius) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 191 (AD 1252); *Albertus* presbiter Cardinalis (in Lucina) RM I p. 354; *Albertus* Girdeler, de Alemania, FY p. 94 (AD 1393); Thomas *Albright* fil. Johannis *Albright*, bucklermaker ibid. p. 127 (AD 1418); Willelmus *Albright*, cutler et buklermaker ibid. p. 176 (AD 1455); Robertus *Albright*, cutler ibid. p. 177 (AD 1456), Hugo *Albryght*, cutteler ibid. p. 178 (AD 1457).

OG *Albert*[3] F 163. With regard to the first member I refer the reader to *Adelard* above; the second member as

[1] It would seem that *Alberi* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber, p. 126, also belongs here.

[2] First member is MHG *alp* (OE *ælf*, ON *álfr*) 'Elf', second member is OHG *rîchi*, OS *rîki* (OE *rīce*) 'mächtig'.

[3] also common in France and Italy. A Rom. dim. form is *Albertino* (dat.) Rogerio de Pistorio (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 283 (Edw. II) and *Albertinus* de Bolonia CPR II p. 266 (AD 1310).

in Adalbert[1]. *Albert* is otherwise a native name, viz. < OE *Aethelbeorht* or *Alberht* (see Müller p. 100).

Albinus Bede HE L V, C. 20 (p. 331)[2]; *Albinus* canonicus et sarcerdos Linc. Obit. p. 164; *Aubyn* (surname, Norf.) Rot. Orig. II p. 202 (Edw. III). Further instances in Bardsley pp. 43, 68, Archiv 123 p. 29.

In most cases, *Albin(us)* is to be considered as Latin (< *albus*). Sometimes it might also be < OG *Alb-* (cf. *Albericus*) + Rom. dim. suff. *-īn*. Cf. Kalbow p. 39, F 65.

Albod(o), Albot: *Albodo* abbot CMR I p. 249 (AD 1114—20); *Albod* (gen.) RC p. 69 (AD 1200); *Albot* (surname) RH I p. 77 (Edw. I), II pp. 330, 610, 612 (Edw. I); Gilberd *Albod* ibid. p. 857; *Albold* Monet̃ Pipe Roll II p. 4, III p. 2; *Halebod(e)* (nom.) CCR I p. 19 (AD 1227), RC p. 32 (AD 1200); *Halebot* (surname) CR I p. 518 (AD 1222), RH II p. 327; *Aylbode* (nom.) ibid. p. 472; *Ayllebod* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 1 (Edw. III); *Eylbod* (surname, Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 257 (AD 1257) etc.[3]

Bardsley (p. 44) suggests that Albot might be a 'popular form of *Albrecht*', which explanation is not correct. The above forms are in the first place to be derived from OE *Aethelbeald* in its ME form *Albold*[4]. The loss of the unstressed *l* is probably due to AN influence; cf. Menger p. 87, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 144 ff.[5] This accounts for the

[1] As regards the moneyer's name, *Albart*, mentioned above, it may be a mere mistake for *Albert* or < OG *Adalbard* F 161. For *-bard* see *Isenbard* below.

[2] = *Albinus* Andegavensis, brought by Remigius to Lincoln.

[3] The name *Alrebot* Ellis, Intr. II p. 22 might belong here. It is, at any rate, a corrupt form, since there is no name-element with which the first member might be connected.

[4] For first member see *Adelard*, second member is OE *beald, bald* (OHG *bald*) 'kühn'. *-bolt* is due to the AN interchange of final *d* and *t;* cf. Menger p. 97. Of OG origin is probably *Alboldus* clericus (Suff.), *Alboldus* cocus (Hants.) Ellis Intr. II p. 280. Cf. OG *Albold* F 161.

[5] A similar loss of *l* is seen in *Tebott* < Tebold (see below sb *Theobald).

existing interchange of forms with and without *l:* thus the abbot *Albodo* above is the same person as *Albolde* (dat.) AS Chr. 1114 H[1], and *Albod* Monet appears as *Albold* Monet Pipe Roll I p. 13. It is impossible to determine whether, or how far, OG *Albod*, *Albot*, *Adelbodo* F 164 are represented in the above instances. Unless the above form *Albodo* is OG, its second member has at any rate been influenced by OG *-bodo*, which would be easily explained from the occurrence of *-bodo*[2] side by side with *-bod* in a number of OG p. ns. In *-bode*, *e* is probably merely orthographical.

Albold, see preceding name.

Albreda LVD pp. 58, 141; *Albretha* ibid. p. 79 (12th or 13th c.); *Albredam* (ack.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 40 (AD 1202); *Albreda* (sister of Robert le Flemeng) Chr. Petr. p. 78; *Albrea* LVD p. 110; *Albréé* (gen.) RLP I p. 36; *Albrei* (fem.) LVD p. 104 (13th c.); *Aubray* uxor Pt. Y. p. 44 (AD 1379); *Aubrayson* (surname) Bardsley p. 68; *Auveray*, *Auverey*, *Auwre*, *Averey* (surnames) RH II pp. 285, 305, 381 etc.

The origin of these forms is not quite certain; cf. the suggestion made by Binz, Angl. Beibl. XXIII p. 4[3]. It seems most likely, however, that they are all derived from OG *Alb(e)rada*[4], *Alverada* F 71, with regular OF development into **Albree *Aubree*, **Alvree *Auvree*. *Albreda* is, then, in my opinion, merely a Latinized form of OF *Albree*, partly probably under the influence of ME *-red*. *Albrei* and *Aubray* show the common AN insertion of *i* in the ending *-ee*, for which cf. Behrens p. 82 f., Menger p. 40[5].

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[1] "Þ abbód rice æt S̃ce Eadmunde he geaf *Albolde* wæs munuc on Bece".

[2] For this member see Anderboda.

[3] See also Björkman, Namenk. p. 12.

[4] First member as in *Alberic*, second member is a fem. form of the element *-rad*, for which see *Adradus*.

[5] Cf. also the pl. ns *Saltrede*, *Saltreye*, *Estrede*, *Estrea*, *Estrei* adduced by Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 116.

Bardsley (p. 68), who has dealt with NE *Aubrey*, *Aubery*, *Aubury*, has confused ME *Aubri* (< *Albericus*, see above) and the present forms, although they can in most cases be kept distinct. NE *Aubrey* (ɔɔbrĭ) is < ME *Aubrey* (< *Albreda*) with the original spelling preserved, whereas NE *Aubery* (ɔɔb(ə)rĭ) is a continuation of ME (Rom.) *Aub(e)rí* (< *Albericus*), with the accent very soon shifted over to the first syllable. A confusion of the forms has not, as a rule, taken place till *-ey* (in *Aubrey*) had been levelled under *ĭ*, so that both forms had fallen together in pronunciation.

Aldeardis (fem.) RC p. 9 (AD 1109).

OG *Aldigart* (male and fem.) *Altiardis* (fem. Rom.) F 60. The first member is OHG *alt*, OS *ald* (OE *eald*, *ald*) 'alt', the second member is OHG *gart*, OS *gard* (OE *geard*) 'Hof, Haus'. In OG, *-gard* is found in both male and fem. names, whereas OE *-geard* only occurs as the termination of male names (cf. Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 780). The present form is, strictly speaking, *Aldĕardis*, corresponding to the OF form Altïardis[1], whence the second member is not to be explained with Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 214, 7.

Aldebrandus de Luka (Lond.) RH I p. 405 (Edw. I).

OG *Aldebrand*[2] etc. (F 58) found both in France and Italy. An instance of an Italian dim. form of this name is Johannem (ack.) *Aldibrandini* Hist. Pap. p. 116.

Aldran KCD 219 (AD 825).

OG *Alderam*, *Aldrannus* etc. F 61. The first member as in preceding name; for the second member, see *Bertram*.

***Alebrand**: *Alebrandi* (surname, borne by a merchant of Sens) Giff. Reg. p. 116 (AD 1272).

OG *Al(e)brand*[3] F 81, Carstens p. 12. A Rom. dim. form

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[1] for which see Kalbow p. 138 f.

[2] First member as in *Aldeardis*, second member as in *Aeðelbrand*.

[3] First member is probably OHG *al* 'ganz', appearing in compounds as *al(a)-*, *al(l)e-*, *al(l)i-*, see Gröger p. 7 ff. Cf. also *Adelard* above; second member as in *Aeðelbrand*.

with prothetic *h* is *Halebrandin* (an Italian) CR I p. 379 (AD 1218).

Alfonsus de Veer Rot. Orig. II p. 21 (Edw. III); *Alfonso* (obl.) (nuncio Reg. Portingal) CR I p. 597 (AD 1224); Dominus *Aldefonsus* (domini regis Angliæ filius) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 263 (AD 1283); *Alfonsus* de Melinis (parson of Dungarvan) CPR I p. 196 (AD 1285); John *Alfouns* (of Portyngale) ibid. VI p. 443 (AD 1337); *Anphos* AS Chr. 1086 E is = *Alphonso* VI. of Castile; cf. also the pl. n *Alphonsciĩ* CR I p. 12.

OG *Adalfuns*, *Adelfons*, *Aldephons*, *Alfons*[1] F 166. This name was borne by a number of Spanish and Portuguese kings.

Aliand (surname) Sanct. Dun. p. 3 (AD 1477).

Cf. OG *Aliand* F 80. For the first member, see **Alebrand;* the second member is perhaps *-nand* (belonging to Goth. *-nanþjan* 'wagen'), with dissimilatory loss of *n*, see Schröder, Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 794.

Alilandus see **Eliland.*

Alis(ius): Willelmus *Alis* seu *Alisius* (Hants.) Ellis Intr. I p. 368.

OG *Algis* F 168. For the first member see *Adelard*, for the second member *Ernegis.*

Almaric see *Amalric.*

Almarica see **Amalrica.*

Almfridus see *Amelfridus.*

[**Alnoldus**, *Alunold* Ellis Intr. II pp. 22, 27 like *Alnulfus* ibid. p. 282, and *Alner* LVD p. 71 stand for *Aluoldus*, *Aluuold*, *Aluulfus* and *Aluer* owing to the common graphical confusion of *n* and *u*].

***Alsard**: *Halsard* (Surr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

H is probably prothetic. **Alsard* might be from *Elisard*[2]

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[1] First member, see *Adelard;* second member is OHG *-funs* (OE *fūs*) 'bereit', *o* for *u* is Rom.

[2] First member as in *Aelismœr*, second member as in **Actard.*

F 78. *a* for *e* would be due to the occurrence of *a* and *e* side by side in some OG name-elements such as *Al-* : *El-*, *Ali-* : *Eli-*, *Alid-* : *Elid-* etc. Cf. also *Al-* and *El-* in DB-names. Or is *Alsard* = *Ansard?*

Alselin: Goisfridi (gen.) *Alselin* (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 472. It is not to be ascertained whether *Alselmus* (Essex) ibid. II p. 24 is an error for *Alselin* or vice versa, on account of the frequent graphical confusion of *in* and *m* in ME documents, or whether they are two different names. *Als-* is probably < *Ans-*[1] with assimilatory change of *n* > *l*. Cf. similar instances of assimilation in Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 122.

Alselm, see preceding name.

Alsent (surname, Cant.) RH II p. 557 (Edw. I).

OG *Alsind(a), Alsindis* (Pol. Irm. III, 25), *Alasind* etc. (fem.) F 54 besides *Adalsind* ibid. 178. For the first member see *Adelard*. The second member is < **sinþa* (Goth. *sinþs*, OHG *sind*, OE *siþ*) 'Fahrt', see Bruckner p. 304. Meyer-Lübke (p. 77 f.) suggests that the male names in *-sind* are < **sinþa-*, the fem. names in *-sind* < **swinþa-* (Goth. *swinþs*, MHG *swinde*, OE *swiþ*) 'kräftig' with Rom. loss of *w*[2]. The gender of the name under notice is, however, not to be determined. On the Rom. transition of *i* > *e* see Mackel p. 97.

Alweis (uxor Ernold' Cinerarii) RCR I p. 162 (AD 1198).

The *ei* of the second member is probably an AN spelling for *ī*, of which instances are to be found in Behrens p. 101, Menger p. 65 and Luhmann p. 115[3]. Hence the etymon will be OG *Adalwidis*, *Adelwidis* (Rom.) F 180 f. For the first member see *Adelard; -widis*[4] has undergone the OF development > *wis*, see Schultz p. 182 ff.

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[1] See *Anselin* and **Anshelm* below.

[2] Cf. also Romania XXXVIII, 232.

[3] This might also account for the spelling *Otheinus* (= **Othīnus*), given by Björkman, Pers. p. 100.

[4] From OS *wīd* (OE *wīd*) 'weit'; further suggestions as to the etymology are found in F 1562. On the Latin ending *-is* of fem. p. ns see Kalbow p. 29.

Amalberga virgo (of the monastery of Blandinium) BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG *Amal(a)berga* F 90, Waltemath p. 13. *Amal-*[1] is lacking from native OE p. ns, and has been introduced from the Continent. For the second member see *Alberia.*

***Amaldredus**: *Amaldredo* (dat.) LVD p. 75 (12th c.).

Cf. OG *Amalrad* F 94. The first member is the same as in preceding name; the second member, for which see *Adradus* above, appears as *-red* in OS (cf. Gallée, As. Gr. p. 62 f., Beckmann p. 54 f.) and in L. Fr., cf. Heinzel pp. 24, 33, 36, 109, 238. By regular OF development it has become *-ré.* Cf. Mackel p. 38. In the present case, however, it will have been influenced by OE *-red*, or, which is equally possible, **Amaldredus* may be a hybrid form. As regards the insertion of *d*, it is analogous to that found e. g., in OF *moldre, coldre, faldra* etc. < *mol(e)re* etc. Cf. also OG *Amaldricus* F 95, and Kalbow p. 122.

Amalinus de Barres CCR I p. 448 (AD 1255); *Amalinno* (abl.) ibid. p. 175 (AD 1174).

OG *Amalin* F 89. In the present case it is certainly a NF dim. form of *Amal-*, see *Amalberga.* The second *a* prevents associating it with *Hamelinus* below.

Amalric, Amelric: *Amelric* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 115; *Amelricus* de Dreuues (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 405; *Amalric(us)* (Oxf. Derb.) ibid. II p. 286; *Amalri* 'þes kinges stiward of France' AS Chr. 1124 E[2]; *Amalric* CCR I p. 20 (AD 1227); *Amauric* Bataille (Oxon.) Rot. Fin. p. 360 (AD 1206); *Amauṙ* de Nohers KC p. 124; *Almaric* (Glouc.) Rot. Oblat. p. 170 (AD 1201); *Almaricus* de Laundres Ann. Dunst. p. 353 (AD 1289); Magister *Almaricus* (Bedf.) ibid. p. 128 (AD 1231); *Almericus* Burdet (Linc.) Plac. p. 415 (Edw. I); *Aumar* de Crohun CR II p. 6 (AD 1224) = *Almaricus* de Croim RB p. 802; *Americ'* vicecomes RC p. 31 (AD 1199);

[1] For the etymology see F 88, Wrede, Wand. p. 39 and Meyer-Lübke p. 11.

[2] = *Hamalri* ibid. 1123 E.

Americus de Rupe Choard CRC p. 13 (John); *Amerius* Peche Plac. p. 285 = *Almaricii* (gen.) Peche ibid. p. 729 (Edw. I); *Amary*, *Amory* (surnames) RH II p. 329; *Omeric'* de Bysilles ibid. I p. 466 etc.

OG *Amalric*, *Almarich* etc. F 94 f.[1] *Amau-* and *Auma-* show NF vocalization of *l* in *Amal-* and *Alma-* respectively. *Americ(us)* (and *Amerius*, the Latinized form of NF *Ameri*) may be < **Amerric(us)* < *Amelric(us)* by assimilation[2]. *Amary*[3] is explained in the same way from *Amalric*. As for *Omeric'*, it seems most likely to be < *Americ*, *o* probably reflecting the ME dialectal appearance of *o*, instead of *a*, before a nasal.

***Amalrica**: *Almarica* (Buck.) Abbr. Plac. p. 280 (Edw. I); *Almarica* (fil' Rogeri de Rostock) (Lanc.) Rot. Orig. I p. 114 (Edw. I); *Almarica* uxor ibid. II p. 113 (Edw. III); *Ameria* Pt. Y p. 202.

Fem. forms of *Almaric*, *Ameri*, for which see preceding name.

Amalwin de Burgo (*Hamalwiñ* de Burg) CR I p. 149 (AD 1213).

OG *Amalwin* F 95. The first member as in *Amalberga*, the second member is OHG, OS *wini* (OE *wine*) 'Freund'.

Amelfridus (Essex) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286. The same person is probably *Almfridus* (Essex) ibid. p. 282.

OG *Amal-*, *Amelfrid*, *Almefred* F 92. For the first member see *Amalric*, the second member is OHG *fridu* (OE *friðu*, *freoðu*) 'Friede'.

Amelger (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286.

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[1] First member as in *Amalberga*. As regards *Alma-*, *Alme-*, it is perhaps of a different origin, according to Bruckner p. 222 belonging to ON *álmr* 'Ulme Bogen'. It seems probable, however, that *Amal-* and *Alma-*, even if originally distinct, will easily have been liable to confusion although I have not come across any instances where this can be assumed with certainty. Cf., however, *Amelfridus* below. For second member see *Alberic*.

[2] Cf. Kalbow p. 122. It cannot, however, with certainty be kept distinct from *Haimeric*.

[3] For *Amory* see Kalbow p. 86.

OG *Amal-*, *Amelger* F 92. For the first member see *Amalberga*, the second member is OHG *gêr* (OE *gār*) < **gaiza-* 'Speer' [1]. *-ger* is not a criterion of OG origin alone, since it occurs in ON p. ns, too [2]. And it is further, especially in ME times, to be found for *-gār* in native p. ns owing to orthographical confusions, or the influence of ON and OG p. ns in *-ger*, or to a development of *-gār* > *găr* > *gĕr* > *gĕr* in weakly stressed position. It should also be borne in mind that, in many cases, a confusion of both elements may be due to the circumstance that several OG p. ns in England exhibit both *-ger* and *-gar;* cf. e. g. *Berenger* below.

Amelina LVD p. 13.

Amelina (Rom.) F 89. It is not possible to determine whether it is a dim. form of *Amal-*, see preceding name, or from *Ama* (cf. F 87) + *el* + *īna*. Cf. *Emelina* below.

Amelrey (surname) RH II p. 769 (Edw. I).

Probably < OG *Amalrada* [3] F 94, OF **Amalree*, exhibiting a development analogous to that of *Aubrey* < **Aubree* < *Albrada*. Allowance must, however, be made for the possibility that it is < *Amelrí* (see *Amalric*) with AN *ey* (= *ei*) for *ī*, see *Alweis*.

Amerland (Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 286.

The same form is also found in Cal. Doc. p. 214 (AD 1137). The first member is most likely to be *Amel-*, *r* for *l* being due to dissimilation [4]. *Amelland* is not given by F, but its existence may be concluded from the form *Amellandus* Cal. Doc. p. 429 (AD 1072—1079). For the first member see *Amalberga;* the second member is < *-nand* (in

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[1] It is further possible that *-ger* in OG p. ns sometimes is = OHG *ger* 'verlangend'; cf. Bruckner (p. 256).

[2] Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 14.

[3] First member as in *Amalberga;* for second member see *Albrada* (under *Albreda*).

[4] Cf. Zachrisson AN Infl. p. 121.

Goth. *ana-nauþjan*) by dissimilation. See Schröder, Gött. gel. Anz. 162 p. 794 [1].

Amiza comitissa (wife of Rodbertus comes Leicestriæ) LVD (Obit.) p. 142.

OG *Ameza*, *Amisa* (fem.) and the male equivalent *Amizo* F 97. Cf. *Amizo* = *Amelricus* Stark p. 64. Hence *Amiza* may be a dim. form of some fem. compound with *Amal-*. The OF equivalent is *Amisse*, Kalbow p. 54.

Anderboda, *Anderbode* mon. (Edw. Conf., Harold II.) Grueber pp. 449, 450, 451, 452, 473; *Anderboda* LVH p. 63; (Robertus filius) *Andrebodæ*, *Anderbodæ* (Dors.) RB p. 216.

OHG *Antarpot*, *Antirpoto*, *Antarbod* F 106. The first member, which is absent from OE p. ns, belongs to OHG *antaron* 'æmulari' [2]. The second member is perhaps OS *bodo*, OHG *-boto* (OE *boda*) 'Bote' (see Bruckner p. 237, F 319) [3], and is lacking from OE p. ns. As a first member it is rarely recorded in native names; cf. *Bodric* mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 330. *Bodwine* abbas BCS 250, 256 probably stands for *Botwine* ibid. 230. *Boda* and *Boddus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 50 and the dim. form **Bodeca* (in *Bodecanleah* BCS 300) might, if Germanic, be judged according to v. Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 89 f.

***Anfrid**: *Amfridi* (gen.) le Flemeñ CR I p. 640 (AD 1224); *Anfridi*, *Amfridi* (gen.) de Chancy RB p. 426 (AD 1166).

OG *Anfrid* F 100. The first member is in most cases the intensive particle *ana-*, see Bruckner p. 223. For the second member see *Amelfrid*. In other cases, *Anfrid* may be from OE *Eanfrid* or ON *Asfriđ*, see Björkman, Pers. p. 11.

Angelin see *Engelin*.

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[1] *Land-* (OHG *lant*, OE *land*, *lond* 'Land') occurs in both OG and OE p. ns.

[2] Bruckner p. 224; cf. also Wrede, Wand. p. 63, Meyer-Lübke p. 13.

[3] Cf. also Socin p. 45, who thinks it is < *bato* 'Kampf'; "dies *-bato* wird einerseits *-boto*, anderseits *-bot*".

Anneis LVD p. 16.

The gender is uncertain; if male, this name seems likely to be < OG *Arnegis*, thus being identical with *Ernegis* (below); if fem., < *Arnheit*, *Arnaida* F 140. For the second member see *Adelais(a)*.

Ansard (surname) LVD p. 60.

One might compare OG *Ansard*[1] (Rom.) F 127. It is more likely, however, that the name under notice is identical with the common ME surname *Hansard*, *Haunsard*, *Haunsart*[2], originally 'the Hansard, a member of one of the establishments of the German Hanse'[3].

Ansegis (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288.

OG *Ansigis*, *Ansgis* F 126 f., OF *Ansïs* Langlois p. 34 f. The first member is OG *Ans-* (OE *Ōs-*, ON *Ás-*) 'Gott'; *Ans-* is also sometimes found in ON p. ns, owing to a transformation of *Ás-* on the model of the Continental form[4]. The second member is *-gīs* (cf. Lombard *gîsil* 'Pfeilschaft' Bruckner p. 90), a gradation form of **gaiza-*, see *Amelger*. This element is originally wanting in OE p. ns, but may have arisen through a later loss of *l* in the native form *-gisl*, *-gils*.

Ansel (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288; *Ansellus* monachus (Norf.) RCR I p. 233 (AD 1199); *Ansellus* molendinarius CMR II p. 9; *Ansellus* (filius Galfridi) Rot. Orig. II p. 244, etc.

Ansellus (Rom.) F 122, OF *Ansel* Langlois p. 35. For *Ans-* see preceding name. The dim. ending may have been added on Rom. territory or be OG *-ilo*, influenced by Rom.

[1] For first member see *Ansegis*, for second member **Actard*.

[2] e. g. LVD pp. 93, 94, CR I p. 340, Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 251, FY p. 13.

[3] On the distinction that was made between the German merchants in England who belonged to the Hanse and those who did not belong to it, see W. Stein, Die Hansebruderschaft der Kölner Englandfahrer (in Hans. Geschichtsbl. XIV, 1908, p. 197 ff.).

[4] See Björkman, Pers. p. 14, Namenk. p. 15,

-el(lus); see Kalbow p. 50. *Ansellus* has sometimes been confused with *Ansellinus*[1]. Thus *Ancellus* Abbr. Plac. p. 167 is = *Ansellinus* Basset ibid. and *Anselłum* (ack.) Mowin RCR I p. 389 = *Anselliñ* Mowin ibid. II p. 64. This confusion will generally be due to the fact that in such a form as *Anselłus*, which signifies *Ansellinus*, the diacritic sign has been left out.

Anselin Pincerne RCR II p. 14 (AD 1199); *Anselinus* Test. Nev. p. 363; Abbr. Plac. p. 214; *Anselino* (abl.) de Brigge Rot. Orig. I p. 127; *Ancelin* Bataillis RCR II p. 152; *Ancelinus* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 106; Willelmus *Anselin* LVD p. 50; Lofeth *Anselin* ibid.; *Hanselin*, *Haunselin*, *Hancelin* (surnames) CR II p. 196, Ann. Burt. p. 310, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 517, etc.

A Rom. derivative from *Ansel* (above) by means of the dim. suff. *-īn*. The forms with initial *h*[2] probably belong here and not to Dutch *Hans*[3] (< *Johannes*), as Bardsley (p. 357) suggests, although this derivation is, of course, worth attention. For the confusion of *Anselin* and *Ansel*, see preceding name. It is further difficult to keep it distinct from *Anselmus*, on account of the paleographical confusion of *in* and *m* in ME documents. Cf. e. g. *Anselinus* de Gyse CRC p. 125 = *Anselmus* de Gyse FA I p. 1.

Ansera mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 329; *Ansera* (surname) RCR I p. 151 (AD 1198).

This name can hardly contain OG *Ans-* as its first member, because the formation would then be quite unintelligible.

Anseric de Tuscy RLP I p. 115 (AD 1214).

OG *Anseric* etc. F 130. The first member as in *Ansegis*, the second member as in *Alberic*.

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[1] See the following name.

[2] With regard to the addition or loss of initial *h* in ME documents Bardsley (p. 347) correctly states: "Aspirates come and go as they like in early registers".

[3] Which seems to be met with only sporadically in ME.

Ansgardus MHB p. 869 (De bello Hastingensi Carmen).

Cf. OG *Ansgard*[1] F 126. The above form is not quite certain, however, because, according to foot-note ibid., the same person appears in DB (Ellis, Intr. II p. 288) as *Ansgarus*. Whether *Ansgeredus* (Oxf. Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 288 is < **Ansgerdus* (< *Ansgardus*) or an error for *Anseredus* (Björkman, Pers. p. 11, Namenk. p. 15) is not determinable.

***Anshelm**: *Anselme* (dat.) (archbish. of Canterbury, a Lombard) AS Chr. 1093 E; *Ansealm*, *Ansealme* (dat.) ibid. 1095 E, 1097 E, 1100 E, 1103 E, 1109 E (the same person); *Anscalm* ("nefa *Ansealmes* ærceb'") ibid. 1115 E; *Anselmus* LVD pp. 98, 100; *Anselmus* le Gros (Bish. of St. David's) CG II p. 77 (AD 1230—47); *Anselmi* (gen.) de Guyse[2] ibid. I p. 305 (AD 1263—84); *Anselmus* Carpentarius CMR I p. 45; *Anselmus* Ann. Theok. p. 56 (AD 1198); *Anselmo* (dat.) (merchant of Genoa) CR II p. 9 (AD 1224); *Anselmus* de Rotomago ('Rouen'), RB p. 207 (AD 1166); *Anscelmus* CMR I p. 142 (AD 1114—30), etc.

OG *Ans(h)elm* F 128, OF *Anselme* Langlois p. 35. The first member as in preceding name; the second member is OG *helm* (OE *helm*) 'Helm', a common name-element in both languages. *ea* is due to the NF insertion of a glide *a* between *e* and *l* + consonant[3]; cf. Menger p. 59, Behrens p. 92, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 150. For the graphical confusion of *Anselm* and *Anselin*, see the latter name.

***Anshelma** (?): *Anselma* mater LVD (Obit.) p. 149.

Perhaps a fem. form of preceding name, but more probably a graphical error for **Anselina* < *Anselin* (above).

Ansiger, *Ansier*[4] mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 105, 106, 107.

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[1] First member as in *Ansegis;* for second member see *Aldeardis.*

[2] Cf. *Anselin* above.

[3] The *ea* in *Healmstan* BCS 659 (AD 926) < OE *Helmstan* is to be explained in the same way.

[4] *Ansidar* ibid. probably stands for *Ansigar*, see Keary p. 89.

OG *Ansger* etc. F 125 f. For the first member see *Ansegis;* the second member as in *Amelger.* For *Ansier* < **Ansijer* < *Ansiger* see Kalbow p. 139. Later instances of *Ansger*, *Ansgar* in England are in most cases to be explained with Björkman, Pers. p. 14, < OW Scand. *Ásgeirr*, OSwed. *Asger*, *Asgar.*

Ansoldus canonicus Linc. Obit. p. 162; *Ansaldus* Mallonus Soldanus (of Genoa) CCR I p. 70 (AD 1228); the same person is probably Ansuldo (abl.) de Genue CR II pp. 12, 13 (AD 1225): Rad. *Ansholt* Rot. Fin. p. 456 (AD 1207).

OG *Answald*, *Ansald*, *Ansold* etc. F 131. The first member as in *Ansegis*, the second member belongs to OHG *waltan* (OE *wealdan*) 'walten'[1] and is a common name-element in both languages. For the loss of *w* see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 109, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 62 and Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 173, 2, remark 3. *Ansholt* might contain OG *hold* 'hold', but it seems more likely that *h* is merely graphical. Cf. Mod. G *Reinhold* < OG *Raginwald* and *Ermenhaldus* < *Ermenald* (below).

***Anwis**: *Annois* (fem.)[2] LVD p. 82 (12th or 13th c.).

OG *Anwis* F 102, who thinks it is < *Arnuuis* (ibid. 141). The first member is the same as in *Arnald* (below). For the second member see under *Alweis. o* is due to the OF vocalization of *w*, see Mackel p. 185.

Arche(n)bald see *Erchenbald.*

Armegard see *Erme(n)gard.*

Armwin le Taverner (Lond.) RH I p. 424 (Edw. I).

Cf. OG *Armuin*, *Armoin* F 147. The first member is assumed by F 146 to be OHG *arm* 'arm'[3], and Bruckner, p. 47, explains it as a gradation form of *Irmin-*, *erma-*. In later examples, especially from Rom. territory, *Arm-*

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[1] Cf. also Kärre, Nomina Agentis in Old English, Part I (Upsala 1915) p. 28.

[2] . . . *Hawis Annois Mahaut Emme* . . .

[3] OE *earm* was not used as a name-element.

cannot be kept distinct from *Erm-*, on account of the interchange of the phonems *ar* and *er*, for which see *Arnald*. And in this particular case the etymon is most likely *Arn-* (cf. *Arnoin* F 141) with *m* < *n* owing to the following labial[1]. OE **Earnwine*[2] is not on record, but is perhaps to be concluded from the form *Ernuinus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 108.

Arnald Arnold, Ernald Ernold: *Ernaldus* (Essex) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414; *Ernold* (Kent), *Ernold* (Worc.) ibid. pp. 108, 314; *Arnaldus*, *Arnold* LVD pp. 19, 31, 50, 52, 53 (12th or 13th c.); *Aernaldus* abbas, *Aernaldus* de Feritate, *Aernaldus* clericus, *Aernaldus* ibid. pp. 47, 85, 86, 98, 104, 111, 141, 147 (12th—14th c.); *Ernaldus* ibid. p. 82; *Ernald* Flandrensis CR I p. 352 (AD 1218); *Ernald* de Burdeg̃ ('Bordeaux') ibid. p. 625 (AD 1224); *Ernald* Flemang of Claverburc CCR III p. 303 (AD 1316); *Ernaldi* (gen.) de Bosco CR I p. 68 (AD 1206); *Ernaldi* (gen.) de anvers ibid. II p. 9 (AD 1224); *Arnold* Ungenogh (merchant of Cologne) ibid. I p. 127 (AD 1212); *Ernaldus* dil Bec RB p. 338 (AD 1166); *Ernald* de Chauci CCR III p. 177 (AD 1311); *Arnoldi* (gen.) de Bolonia RB p. 708 = *Hernaldus* de Bolonia ibid. p. 616 (AD 1211—12); *Arnaldus* de Almaygne, furbour FY p. 24 (AD 1327); *Arnaldus* de Lovayne, teinturer ibid. p. 54 (AD 1359); *Arnald* de Colonia, armourer ibid. p. 94 (AD 1393); *Arnald* de Braban (AD 1307) Bardsley p. 125; *Arnald* Fresekyn (merchant of Brabant) CPR IV p. 153 (AD 1327); Godfridus *Arnaldson*, Ducheman FY p. 186 (AD 1466); *Hernand*, *Hernant* (surnames) Abbr. Plac. p. 263, RH I p. 52 etc.; cf. also *Arnold*, a Norman bish. and *Arnold* of Ardres, mentioned in FNC IV p. 546.

OG *Arnald, Arnold, Arnolt*[3] etc. F 140 f., OF *Arnaut*,

[1] Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 126, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 188.

[2] For first member see the following name, for second member see *Amalwin*.

[3] First member is OHG *arn* (OE *earn*, ON *ǫrn*) 'Adler'; for second member, see *Ansoldus*.

Ernaut, *Hernaut* Langlois p. 337 f. The occurrence of the above forms in England is probably altogether due to continental influence, since they do not appear till DB [1]. The various spellings of the first member may be due to English soundlaws: OE *ĕarn* (cf. Bülbring, Ae. Elem. §§ 285, 287) has become ME *arn* and *ern* and *ærn* might be taken to represent the intermediate stage *ĕa* had to pass to reach *a* [2]. In the present case, however, both *Arnald* and *Ernald* were no doubt introduced from the Continent. As regards the latter form it is explained by F 457 as containing *Êrin-*, an extended form of OHG *êra* 'Ehre'. Most of the forms adduced by F ibid., are, however, Rom. and certainly to be derived from *Arnald,* exhibiting the OF dialectal transition of *ar* > *er* for which see Mackel p. 48, Kalbow p. 92, Nyrop § 246, Dammeier p. 38 ff., Menger p. 49, Behrens pp. 76, 80. The forms *Hernand*, *Hernant* might certainly, from a merely formal point of view, be identified with OG *Hernand* F 776, but are no doubt = *Hernaud*, *Hernaut* (< *Ernald*, *Ernalt*), owing to the very common graphical confusion of *n* and *u* in ME texts [3].

***Arngot** (?): *Arengot* (surname) CCR II p. 250 (AD 1281); *Harengod*, *Haringod*, *Haregot*, *Haringot* (surnames) RF pp. 527, 567 (AD 1214, 15), RCR I p. 387 (AD 1199), CCR I p. 253 (AD 1240), etc.

Cf. OG *Aringaud*, *Arnghot* [4] F 139. If this derivation be correct, *e* and *i* in *Aren-*, *Harin-* are svarabhakti-vowels. The relation of the above forms to *Heringod* RH I p. 219 etc. is not clear. It may be that *Haringod* and *Heringod* exhibit the same interchange of *a* and *e* as *Arnald* and

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[1] ON *Arnaldr*, Lind 33 ff. is assumed by him to have been introduced from Germany and England. Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 30.

[2] For similar spellings in Laȝamon see Luhmann p. 120 ff.

[3] A NF dim. form is *Arnoldin*, K. Horn, for which see Archiv 123 p. 30.

[4] First member as in *Arnald*, second member as in *Aingot*.

Ernald, and thus are both < *Arn-*. It should be noticed, however, that most of the forms in question show initial *H*, which, from all we know about the ME spelling habits, cannot be considered as a decisive proof of the assumption that it is original but, at any rate, strongly favours this suggestion. I think it likely, therefore, that *Heringod* is, at least in some cases, to be derived from *Heregod* (cf. *Heregodus* LVD p. 16 and the instances given by Björkman, Pers. p. 68)[1] with insertion of *n*, analogous to the one found in *Portingal* CR I p. 597 (AD 1224)[2] and that *Haringod* may be an orthographical variant of this *Heringod*. As regards the form *-gaud*, which sometimes appears side by side with *-god* in these compounds, e. g. *Herygaud* Plac. p. 759, *Herigaud* FA I p. 322, *Harongaud* RH II p. 218, *Heryngaud* ibid. I p. 227, it might perhaps be an archaic spelling of *-god*, taken over from WF charters, where *-gaud* was preserved long after the transition of *au* > *o*; or is it possible that it may be < *-wald* with AN development of *w* > *g*[3] and vocalization of *l* > *u*? In such a case, OE *Herewald*, too, may have been confused with the above-mentioned forms.

Arnost, see **Ernost.*

Arnulf of Hesdin (a Flemish follower of the Conqueror) FNC IV p. 39; *Arnulfi* (gen.) BCS 661 (AD 918)[4]; *Earnulf* AS Chr. 887 A, 891 A is = *Arnulf*, King of the Franks; *Arnulf* ibid. 1070 E is = Arnulf III., Count of Flanders.

OG *Arnulf*, *Arnolf*[5] etc. (very common) F 141. The various forms of *Arnulf* in England are probably to be deri-

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[1] Cf. also OG *Haregaud*, *Herigaud*, *Herigoz* etc. F 770 f.

[2] For later instances see Jespersen Gr. 2. 432. Cf. also Burghardt p. 105 f.

[3] A few instances of *-guin* for *-win* also occur im ME; for the state of things in OF p. ns see Kalbow p. 118.

[4] son of Aelfthryth and Baldwin II., Count of Flanders.

[5] First member as in *Arnald*, second member as in *Adelulfus*.

ved, in the first place, from native *Earnwulf*. Further, ON origin is possible, see Björkman, Pers. p. 9.

Artald, see *Hartald.*

Ascelina, see *Azelina.*

Ascelinus, see *Azelin.*

Aselinus, see *Azelin.*

[**Asman,** *Asma* mon. (Eadgar, Aethelred II.) Hildebrand pp. 12, 87; *Assemannus* liber homo (Suff.) Ellis Intr. II p. 44; *Asman, Asseman* CMR III pp. 321, 322; *Asseman* (surname) RH II pp. 170, 449 (Edv. I.), etc.

These forms are probably not identical with *Asman*, Mod. G *Assman*[1] F 129, but the moneyer's name *Asman* is likely to be a mistake for *Aescman*, also occurring on the coins of Eadgar and Aethelred II., and later instances will stand for ME *Ash(e)man.* For *s(s)* = [ʃ] see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 38, Behrens p. 190, Luhmann p. 28 etc.]

Asselin see *Azelin.*

[**Atram** (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 14.

An original pl. n. (cf. atte Ramme Bardsley p. 634) and not < OG Aderam F 156.]

Audena (filia Willelmi Botun) CR I p. 172 (AD 1214).

Aldina (Rom.) F 57 < *Ald* (see *Aldeardis*) + dim. suff. *-īna*[2]. The *e* of the ending is either due to AN influence[3] or to the Latin forms *-ena, -lena* sometimes occurring in Continental charters for *-ina, -lina.*

Audin, a Norman monk, FNC IV p. 602.

It is either a Rom. dim. form from the stem *Ald-* (see the preceding name) or < ON *Auþin*, see Björkman, Pers. p. 23, foot-note 2.

Audoenus: *St. Audoenus*[4] (Essex) Ellis, Intr. I p. 375, II p. 44; *Audoenus* Hist. Ab. II p. 157; *Audoen'* canonic' AC p. 19 (AD 1123); *Audoenus* LVD p. 80 (12th c.); *Audoenus*

[1] < *Ans-* according to F.

[2] Cf. also *Audin* below.

[3] see Menger p. 65, Behrens p. 101.

[4] = the Abbey of *St. Ouen or Owen* in the city of Rouen.

(Southhampt.) RB p. 205 (AD 1166); *Audoeñ* Rot. Fin. p. 330 (AD 1205); *Audoenus* (*Oenio* dat.) CRC p. 27, CR I pp. 12, 56 (AD 1204, 5); *Audoen'* (*Oen'*) Rot. Fin. p. 290 (AD 1205), Rot. Obl. p. 66 (AD 1200); *Audoeni*, *Oweni* (gen.) de la Pole Rot. Orig. I pp. 78, 88, 159; *Audoeinus* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 342 (AD 1241), etc.

OG *Audowin*, *Audwin*[1] etc. F 204. *Aud-* in the above instances is a documentary form since OG *au* was monophthongized into ō as early as in the eighth cent. (see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 45) and also becomes o in OF[2] (see Kalbow p. 108). The second member *-oenus* is a NF Latinized form of *-win*, with vocalization of *w* and transition of *ĭ* > *ē*, for which cf. Kalbow pp. 31, 96. The regular OHG development is seen in *Otwine* below, the regular NF development is *Odoen* > **Ooen* (by loss of the intervocalic dental) > *Oen*, whence *Owen* by AN insertion of *w* to avoid hiatus[3]. But *Owen* beside *Owein* is also Celtic[4], sometimes appearing as *Oenus*, e. g. Hoel̃ (gen.) filii *Oeni* Pipe Roll I p. 62. An instance of Latinizing Celtic *Owen* as *Audoenus* is afforded by the Welsh poet *John Owen*, who Latinized his name as *Audoenus*[5]. It does not seem unlikely that *Audoeinus* (above) is a blending of *Audoenus* and Celtic *Owein*. A third source of *Audoenus* is also perhaps OG *Aldwin* F 64 (OE *Eald-*, *Aldwine*) in NF and Latinized form. Cf. further Björkman, Pers. p. 23 and the p. n. *Oduenus* (de Hegrenes, envoy of E., King of Norway) CPR I p. 508 (AD 1292).

***Auelin**: *Auelinus* teignus (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 44; *Avelyn*, *Avelin(e)* (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 166 (Edw. II.), RH

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[1] First member is OS *ôd* (OE *ead*) 'Reichtum', second member is the same as in *Amalwin*.

[2] In Provençal *au* has remained.

[3] See Stimming p. 220.

[4] Cf. Miss Yonge p. 273, Barber p. 209.

[5] Cf. also *Audoenus* son of *Madoc* CPR I p. 521 (AD 1292) and *Thlewargus* son of *Audoenus* ibid.

I pp. 480, 503 (Edw. I.); *Aveleyn* (surname) RH II p. 869; cf. Archiv 123 p. 31.

Probably a Rom. dim. form of *Avo*, *Avila* F 217, 218. The first member is perhaps to be associated with the name of the Aviones; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 141[1]. *ey* (in *Aveleyn*) probably stands for *ī*, see *Alweis*.

Auelina LVD p. 57 (12th c.), RCR II p. 242 (AD 1200); *Avelina*, *Avelyna* Rot. Fin. p. 360 (AD 1206), Plac. p. 744 (Edw. I.), Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 181, 531 (AD 1254, 71), CR II p. 168 (AD 1227), CMR I p. 87; *Awelinam* (ack.) RH I p. 349; cf. further Bardsley p. 69, Archiv 123 p. 31.

Avelina (Rom.) F 218, a fem. form of preceding name. Cf. also Miss Yonge p. 232.

Auesgot (Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290.

Auesgaud[2] (Rom.) F 219. The first member probably contains the same stem as the preceding name. For the second member see *Aingot*.

Aungeleis see *Engeleisa*.

Aurandus de Gloucestriæ RM II p. 357.

OG **Alrannus*, *Alaramnus*, *Alerannus*, *Adalramnus* F 53, 81, 173. For the first member see *Adelard*; second member as in *Bertram*.

Autbert see *Otbert*.

Ayllard see *Adelard*.

Azelin, *Azelinus* (homo Comitis Tosti) Ellis, Intr. II p. 45; *Azelin* (Somers.) ibid. p. 291; *Azelinus* (Suss. Berks. etc.), *Azelinus* (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Leic.), *Azelinus* (homo Comitis Hugonis, Linc.), ibid.; *Azelin* LVD p. 51 (13th c.); *Ascelinus* ibid. pp. 18, 52, 53, 60, 68 (12th or 13th c.); *Ascelinus* le Flemeng (Hunt.) RH II p. 648 (Edw. I.); *Ascelinus* clericus Chr. Petr. p. 160; *Ascelinus* episcopus Ro-

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[1] Cf. also F 217 and literature there quoted, Meyer-Lübke p. 18, Schultz p. 197.

[2] borne e. g. by a bish. of le Mans (1000—1036); cf. FNC II p. 139, III p. 190.

fensis ibid. p. 2 (AD 1148); *Acelinus* CMR I p. 137 (AD 1114—30); *Accelino* (abl.) Mem. Rip. IV p. 51 (AD 1178); *Aselinus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290; *Haselin* (surname) CR I p. 338 (AD 1217); *Asselino* (abl.) ibid. II p. 209 (AD 1227); *Asselyn* (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 222 (Edw. III.); *Hezelinus* (Berks.) Ellis Intr. II p. 338; further instances in Archiv 123 p. 30[1].

OG *Azelin*, *Ascelin*, *Acelin*, *Ezelin* F 221, OF *Ascelin*, *Asselin*, *Acelin*, Langlois p. 4 f., dim. forms of *Azo* below. The OG affricate *z* is rendered by *z*, *sc*, *c* and *s(s)* in OF p. ns, see Kalbow p. 137, Mackel p. 174 f. For AN see Menger p. 98, Behrens p. 184 ff., and Zachrisson p. 37 ff. A confusion of *Ascelin* and *Anselin* is sometimes to be noticed, e. g. *Ascelinus* Mauduit = *Anselinus* Mauduit RB pp. 213, 605, and is perhaps caused by the existence of both *As-* and *Ans-* in p. ns.

Azelina, *Ascelina*, *Ascellina*, *Acelina* LVD pp. 18, 54, 58, 80, 82, 95, 140; *Azelina* RCR I p. 126 (AD 1194); *Ascelina* ibid p. 346 (AD 1199), Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 346 (AD 1241); *Acelina* de Waterville RB p. 151 (AD 1201—12); *Hescelina* de Insula Test. Nev. p. 36; cf. Archiv 123 p. 30.

OG *Acelina* F 222, OF *Aceline* Langlois p. 5, the fem. equivalent of preceding name.

Azilia uxor (Somers.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 7 (AD 1218).

Cf. OG *Azila* (fem.) F 221, a dim. form of *Aza*[2] ibid. 220. If this derivation be correct, the ending has probably been Latinized on the model of names in *-ia*, such as *Basilia*, *Massilia*. Cf. also *Alisia* side by side with *Aliza* etc. under *Adelais(a)* above.

Azo (Suss. Dors. North. etc.), *Azo* presbyter (Nott.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 291; *Azo* (Glouc.) RB pp. 287, 291 (AD 1166); *Azo* RC p. 124 (AD 1204), RCR II pp. 33, 140 (AD 1199); *Azone* (abl.) RH II p. 572 (Edw. I); *Azonis* (gen.) Hist. Ab.

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[1] Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 19.

[2] For the etymology, see the following name.

II p. 306 (AD 1100—35); *Azza* clericus LVD p. 100 (13th c.); *Atsa* LVH (quoted from Searle); *Adzo* Linc. Obit. p. 162; *Asso* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 290; *Aceum* (ack.) Abbr. Plac. p. 80 (John); *Acei* (gen.) KC p. 10; *Ace* (surname) RH II pp. 321, 326, 395 etc.

OG *Azo, Azzo, Atso, Adso*[1] F 219 f., Socin p. 131, OF *Ace, Asse* Langlois p. 4. For the rendering of OG *z* see *Azelin*. In OF, the final *o* is regularly apocopated, and the *e* found in *Ace* (Latinized **Aceus*) is analogical, see Schwahn-Behrens § 289, 2 b. The same name is further **Acius* (see Björkman Namenk. p. 12, foot-note 1).

B.

Bado mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108.

OG *Bado*[2] F 225. A native equivalent is *Bada* LV (Müller p. 46). In this case, the OG male ending *-o* may serve as a criterion, since there is no reason for assuming that the present form is Latinized.

Bainard: Radulfus *Baignard(us), Baignart, Bangiard, Baniardus* (Suff. Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 376, 378, II p. 291; *Bainard(us)* (Norf. Suff.), Gaosfridus *Bainardus* (Norf.), Willielmus *Bainardus* (Suff.), *Bainiard(us), Baingiardus* (Suss. Surr.) ibid. II pp. 291, 292; *Bain'* vicecomes (Ess.) ibid.

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[1] hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Adal-* or *Ad-*; cf. *Azo* = *Adelbertus, Adelhelmus* Stark p. 78. See also Heinzel pp. 19, 98, 101, 232, 264 etc., and Socin p. 184 f.

[2] a hypochoristic form of some compound with OG *Badu-* (OE *Beadu-, Badu-*) 'Kampf'.

p. 46; Willelm *Bainart* (probably identical with the above) AS Chr. 1110 E; *Bainard(us)* LVD pp. 46, 110; Fulco *Bainard* (Norf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 359, 458 (AD 1206); Galfridi (gen.) *Baynard* CMR III p. 214; Robertus *Baynard* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 372 (AD 1242); *Paniart* (Colchest.) RLP p. 171 (AD 1216), etc.

OG *Beinhard*, *Beinhart*, Mod. G *Beinert* F 232. The first member probably belongs to ON *beinn* 'ready, willing', see Schönfeld p. 42[1]. For the second member see **Actard*. By loss of *h*, *n* has become intervocalic, and has been palatalized in OF by the *i* of the preceding diphthong[2]. *-(i)gn-*, *-ngi-*, *-i(n)-*, *-(i)ni-*, *-ni-*, *-(i)ngi-* are AN orthographical variants of this *n* '*mouillé*'; cf. Menger p. 88, Stimming p. 218 f. *Paniart* above is probably < OHG **Painhart* (Mod. G *Peinert* F 232).

Baldwine mon. (Aethelstan — Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 101, 122, 145, 158, 190, 330, Hildebrand p. 453; *Baldvinus*, *Baldewinus*, *Baldewine* (*-a*), *Baldewyne* abbas[3] KCD 809, 813, 824, 825, 874, 875, 881 (AD 1060, 66); *Baldwinus* (Glouc. North. Linc.), *Baldwinus* serviens regis (Hertf.), *Baldwinus* Vicecomes[4] (Dors. Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 377; *Baldewinus* (Warw. Berks. etc.), *Baldwinus* (f. Herluini) (Glouc.), *Baldwinus* (homo Stigandi archiepiscopi) (Buck.) etc., ibid. II pp. 46, 47, 292; *Balduin* de Reduers (Execestre) AS Chr. 1135 E; (*Baldwine* AS Chr. 1037 C, 1045 E, 1046 E, 1071 D, 1111 E signify *Baldwin* VI, VII, Counts of Flanders); *Baldu(u)inus* LVD pp. 7, 14, 16, 18, 45, 53, 55, 71, 79, 86 95, 99, 108, 144, 148; *Bauiduin* (sic!) ibid. p. 107; (Helbodo et frater ejus) *Baldewinus* CG I p. 286; *Baldewinus* (frater Comitis Gileberti) ibid. p. 387; *Baldewin* le Flemeng̃ (Cornw.)

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[1] For the ME p. n. *Beyn* see Björkman, Pers. p. 25.

[2] Cf. Kalbow p. 124 f.

[3] = *Baldewine* abbot (AS Chr. 1098 E), appointed abbot of St. Eadmund's by Edw. Conf.; cf. Flor. Wig. (AD 1097): "*Baldwinus, genere Gallus . . .*"

[4] one of the sons of Gilbert, Earl of Brion.

Fin. I p. 342, Rot. Orig. I p. 117 (Edw. I.); *Baldewinus* (Comes de Albemarl̃) CR I p. 144 (AD 1213); *Baldewini* (gen.) Aunvers ibid. II pp. 9, 188 (AD 1224, 27); *Baldwinum* (ack.) de Coln (Nott.) Abbr. Plac. p. 285 (Edw. I.); *Baldwin* de Ostewic (a Fleming) CCR I p. 220 (AD 1236); *Baldewiñ* de Gant RLP p. 93 (AD 1212); *Baldewyno* (abl.) mercatore de Florence (Linc.) RH I pp. 349, 385 (Edw. I.); *Baldewini* (gen.) de Bricourt (Linc.) ibid. p. 389; *Baldewinus* de Chaumbrey Giff. Reg. p. 167 (AD 1226); *Baudewyn*, *Bawdwinus* RH II pp. 86, 421, 434, etc.

OG *Baldewin*, *Baldwin*[1] F 242, OF *Baudoïn*, *Bauduïn* Langlois p. 74 f. It cannot be determined whether e. g. *Balduini* presbiter LV and **Baldwine* (in *baldwines healh*) KCD 133 (AD 778) are native, which, however, seems rather likely, since both members are common in OE p. ns. But the frequency of this name in England from DB onwards is no doubt altogether due to Continental influence[2].

Bardel (?) mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 112.

Both *Bardel* and *Burdel* occur, showing a confusion of *a* and *u* not seldom found in the orthography of the coins. The original form is probably *Bardel*, a Rom. dim. form of OG *Bardilo*[3] (Mod. G *Bardel*[4]) < *Bardo*[5] F 247 f. = OF *Bardon* Langlois p. 69.

Bardwulf mon. (Aethelred II, North.) see Keary p. 159; *Bardulfus* de Cesterton Test. Nev. p. 101; *Bardulfus* (surname) Ann. Wav. p. 225 (AD 1205), Ann. Burt. p. 447, Rot. Fin. p. 472, KC pp. 35, 58, RC p. 184 (AD 1208—9); *Bardolf* (surname) RH I p. 277; *Bardouf* (surname) ibid. pp. 504, 512; *Barduf* (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 139; *Ber-*

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[1] First member is OG *bald* (OE *beald*, *bald*) 'kühn'; for second member see *Amalwin*.

[2] Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 25.

[3] Similar instances are found in Kalbow p. 50 f.

[4] Cf. Pott p. 103.

[5] a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Bard-*, for which see the following name.

dolf (surname) RH II p. 683, etc. Further instances in Bardsley p. 78.

Although *Bardwulf* seems to be recorded only once in OE, whereas it is fairly common in ME, especially as a surname, it is perhaps after all a native name, all the more as it is scantily represented on the Continent[1]. *Berdolf* (above) is due to the interchange of *ar* and *er* in pretonic position referred to sb *Arnald*. The forms *Barthol*, *Bartol* and the OF dim. forms *Bartelot*, *Bertelot* etc. often met with in ME, are < *Bartholomeus*, *Bertolomeus*.

Bartram see *Bertram*.

Bascelin de Charun (Colchest.) RLP p. 171 (AD 1216).

Perhaps a dim. form of OG *Bazzo*[2] (F 253), a hypocoristic form of some compound with *Badu-* (see *Bado* above). For the spelling *sc* for *z* see *Azelin*.

Belisent[3] (Suff.) CRC II p. 234 (AD 1200); *Belesenta* Chart. Frith. I p. 367; *Belesanda* CPR I p. 225 (AD 1286).

OG *Belissendis* (fem.) F 256, OF *Belisent*, *Belisant* etc. Langlois p. 83 f. The first member is etymologically ob-

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[1] Cf. OG *Bartholf* (perhaps for *Bertholf* < *Berhtolf* F 297 f.) *Pardulf* F 248. *Bard-* is probably either OHG *bart* (OE *beard*) 'Bart' or OHG *barta*, OS *barda* (ON *barða*) 'Beil'. In this connection I will mention the OE pl. n. *Bardney* (Linc.), appearing as *Bardaneu* (*-ig*) in Bede HE L III, C XI, *Beardan igge* AS Chr. 906 D, 909 C, and *Bearðan ege*, *Barðanig* ibid. 641 E, 675 E. First member shows the same interchange of *d* and *ð* as is found in OE *barda*, *barða* 'a beaked ship'. It is possible, however, that it is a p. n. *Barda*, which, in a patronymic form, seems to appear in the pl. n. *beardingaleag* BCS 343 (AD 814). Cf. also Bruckner p. 32: "Es verdient noch hervorgehoben zu werden, dass andrerseits auch zurückgebliebene Reste des lgbd. ('langobardischen') Volkes mit den Angelsachsen nach England zogen, wie sich aus manchen ags. Ortsnamen ergiebt: *Beardingaleah* Birch, Cartular. saxon. I nr 343 a 814, *Beardincgford* ibid. III nr 1282 a 972, *Bardenea*, *Beardeneu*, *Bardunig* öft." For second member of *Bardwulf* see *Adelulf*.

[2] Cf. *Bezelin* F 254; see also Stark p. 94.

[3] gender unknown but probably fem.

scure[1]; perhaps OHG *bill* (OE *bill*) < **bilja-* 'Schwert'[2]. For the second member see *Alsent.*

Beluard unus de Caruen (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 293.

The etymon is probably an unrecorded OG **Biliward*[3]; cf. the compounds with *Bili-* given by F 304 ff.

Beneger, see *Berenger.*

Benza LVD p. 12.

OHG *Penza* (fem.) F 246. Cf. *Benzo* = *Bennizo* < *Bernizo, Berinzo* Stark p. 87 and Bruckner p. 232.

***Benzelin**: *Benzelinus* (Oxf. Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 380, II p. 293; Willelmus *Bencelyn* (Suff.) FA V p. 60 (AD 1346).

OG *Benzlin, Bencelin* F 246, OF *Benselin* Langlois p. 67, a dim. form of OG *Benzo*, see preceding name.

Benzelina (Glouc.) Abbr. Plac. p. 60 (John); *Benzelina* de Langford (Cant.) ibid. p. 57; *Beuscelina* (with *u* for *n*) LVD p. 53[4].

A fem. form of preceding name. For the spellings *c, sc* and *z*, see *Azelin.*

Berardin: Baldewin *Berardin* RLP I p. 130 (AD 1215); *Berardine, Barardyne* see Guy of Warwick p. 435.

A Rom. dim. form of OG *Berard*[5] F 262, OF *Berart* Langlois p. 85 f.

Berzelin de Lanbil CCR III p. 445 (AD 1322).

Probably a dim. form of *Berzo* (= *Berizo* or *Bertizo*) Stark p. 87.

Berdolf see *Bardwulf.*

Berenger, Berengar: *Berihcari, Berinicari, Berihicari*[6] mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108; *Berenger* Giffard (Wilts. Dors.),

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[1] Cf. F 256.

[2] For other possible etymologies see F 303 and literature there quoted.

[3] For first member see preceding name, second member is OHG *-wart* (OE *weard*) 'Hüter'.

[4] Cf. also Archiv 123 p. 31.

[5] For first member see Meyer-Lübke p. 20 and Gröger p. 239; second member as in **Actard.*

[6] *h* = *n*.

Berengarius, *Berenger*, *Berengerius* de Todeni (Oxf. Nott. Yorks. etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 493; *Bereng'* (homo St. E, Suff.), *Berengarius* (Norf. Suff.), *Berengarius* (Ess.) ibid. II pp. 48, 294; *Berengarius* LVD p. 64; *Berengerus* Hist. Ab. II p. 55 (AD 1100—35); *Berengerus* (Som.) RB p. 225 (AD 1166); *Berengarius* CMR I p. 159; *Berengero* (obl.) Monacho CR I p. 217 (AD 1215), etc.

OG *Beringer*, *Beringar* F 267 f., OF *Beringier*, *Berenger*, *Beranger* Langlois p. 86 ff. For the first member see F 258 f., Bruckner p. 233 and Meyer-Lübke p. 20; for *-ger* see *Amelger*. *-gar* will be < **garwa-* (OHG *garo*, OE *gearo*, ON *gǫrr*) 'bereit gerüstet'[1]. It is uncertain whether the moneyer's name *Berngar* (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) given by Grueber pp. 83, 101 is native; both members are at any rate extremely common in OE p. ns. If it exists the native form will easily have developed a svarabhakti-vowel in the first member, and cannot be distinguished from the Continental forms. The name *Beneger* RM II p. 404 (AD 1306)[2], Inq. Non. p. 173, is < **Berneger* with dissimilatory loss of the first *r*[3]. In the same way *Penier* (Eborardus *Penier*, one of the merchants of Ypres and Germany mentioned in RH I p. 314) might, if originally a p. n., perhaps be derived from OHG *Pernger* F 267, although it is more likely < OHG *Pernhari* F 269, *ier* being the OF form of *hari*[4]. Cf., however, OF *penier* 'dur à la paine, à la fatigue'.

Berengera (uxor Ricardi regis = Rich. I) Ann. Burt. p. 208 (AD 1201) = *Berengeriam* (filiam Ragonis regis Navariæ) Ann. Osen. p. 44.

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[1] See Cipriani p. 37 ff. Cf. also Kossinna (Hochfr. Sprachdenkm. p. 30), who explains *-gar(ius)* and its confusion with *-ger* in OG names as due to the Rom. spellings *-chari*, *cheri* (< *hari*).

[2] Cf. Ingeramum (ack.) *Beneger* ibid. and Ingelramus *Berenger* FA V p. 201.

[3] See Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 136; for similar OF instances, such as *Hebert*, *Benart* < *Herbert*, *Bernart* see Kalbow p. 121.

[4] Cf. Kalbow p. 90. Cf. also OF *Bernier* Langlois p. 91.

OG *Bernegaria* (Rom.) F 268, a fem. form of preceding name.

Bernard: *Berenard* mon. (Eadwig, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 156, 163; *Bernardus* (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 381, II pp. 48, 294; *Bernardus* de S. Audoeno (Kent) ibid. II p. 290; *Bernard* (Bish. of St. David's)[1] AS Chr. 1123 E; *Bernard* (sent by King Cnut into Denmark) see FNC I p. 488, Björkman Pers. 47; *Bernardus*[2] LVD p. 16; *Bernardus* (presbiter cardinalis) RM I p. 351; *Bernardus* (monachus de Gloverniæ, quondam abbas de Cerne)[3] Ann. Burt. p. 187 (AD 1160); *Bernard* de Francia CR I p. 612 (AD 1224); *Burnhard* (surname) RH II pp. 326, 579, 623 (Edw. I), etc.

OG *Berenard*, *Bernard*[4] F 269, OF *Bernart* Langlois p. 88 ff. The OE equivalent *Beornheard*, often Latinized as *Bern(h)ardus*, cannot be distinguished from the Continental form. The name became very popular all over Europe in Mediæval times, particularly through the Cistercian monk *Bernard*. A Rom. dim. form is *Bernardin* (surname, Lond.) CCR II p. 372 (AD 1290), *Bernardinus*, Canon of Wells, CPR I p. 342 (AD 1290). For the *u* in Burnhard see **Erlwine*.

Berta: *Bercta* ('de gente Francorum regia')[5] Bede, HE L I, C XXV; *Bertanæ*[6] abbatissæ (dat.) BCS 43 (AD 676); *Berta* LVD pp. 17, 31, 82; (Varinus cum) *Bercta* ibid. p. 38 (13th c.).

OG *Berhta*, *Berta* etc. F 281 f., OF *Berte* Langlois p. 92 f., hypochoristic forms of some compound with *Berht-*[7]; cf. *Berta* = *Bertrada*, Stark p. 15. On the spelling *ct* for *ht*

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[1] See FNC V p. 209.

[2] . . . *Reginaldus et Aeilhild et filii ejus Hugo, Bernardus* . . .

[3] one of the four monks from Cerne who founded the Cistercian order in England.

[4] First member as in *Berenger*, second member as in **Actard*.

[5] *Berhtæ* LV probably designates the same person.

[6] On the Latin inflection see Kalbow p. 29.

[7] for which see *Adalbert*.

see Sievers, Ags. Gr., § 221. The occurrence of this name in England will mostly be due to its having been borne by the above-mentioned Queen *Bercta*, daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks, and married to Aethelberht, King of Kent.

Berter mon. (Aethelstan II.) Keary p. 95.

OG *Berter* (Rom., AD 888) < *Berthari*[1] etc. F 288 f. The OE equivalent is *Beorhthere*. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 26, foot-note 2.

Bertinus Vieleur LVD p. 99 (13th c.); *Bertino* (dat.) (carpentario de Rupella, 'Rochelle') CR I p. 418 (AD 1220); *Bertinus* (de Fevre, mercator Bolon') Abbr. Plac. p. 156 Hen. III.); *Bertinus* Fanecourt (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. II p. 126 (Edw. I); *Bertinum* (ack.) de Gestinges CR II p. 211 (AD 1227); *Berhtinus* Martyrologium p. 162; *Bertyn* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 403, etc.

OG *Bertin* F 283 or rather OF *Bertīn*, see Kalbow p. 42, a dim. derivative from *Berht-* for which see preceding name. *Bertin* was popular in Normandy and France through *St. Bertin of Omer*, the saint mentioned above in the Martyrologium. Cf. also *S' Berhtines minstre* AS Chr. 1128 E[2].

***Bertrada**: *Bertr'* the Countess CCR II p. 311 (AD 1285), according to the register = *Bertrada*, wife of Hugh, Earl of Chester.

OG *Bertrada* F 294. For the first member see the preceding name, the second member is the same as in *Alb(e)rada*, see *Albreda*.

Bertram: *Bærhtram* mæssepreost BCS 1010 (AD 958); *Bertram* (Som.), *Bertrannus* (Kent). Ellis, Intr. II p. 295; *Bertram(us)*, *Bertram* de Verd'[3] LVD pp. 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92,

[1] First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Aeðelhere*.

[2] I have not been able to find the instances *Bertin* de Burgo = *Bertram* de Burgo, given by Bardsley p. 97 from RH.

[3] Probably identical with *Bertrand* de Verdun, a Lotharingian who, according to FNC V p. 750, held Farnham in Buckinghamshire.

93, 95, 107, 110; *Bartramus* (prior Dunelmensis) ibid. (Obit.) pp. 149, 150; *Bertram* (þat was þe erles kok) Havelok v. 2898; *Bertrannus* (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 445 (AD 1180); *Bertram* de Almannia (Linc.) RH I p. 314 = *Bertramin'* de Almania ibid.; Rogerus *Bertram* Ann. Wig. p. 450 (AD 1263); Robertus *Bartram* Norman' RH I p. 449 (Edw. I); *Bertrand* Rot. Fin. pp. 478, 527 (AD 1213, 14); *Bertrandus* Rot. Orig. I p. 150 (Edw. I), etc.

OG *Bertram*, *Bertran*, *Bertrand* F 290 f., 294, OF *Bertran(t)* Langlois p. 93 f. For the first member see *Berta*[1]; the second member is OHG *(h)raban*, *(h)ram* (OE *hræfn*, ON *hrafn*) 'Rabe', not occurring in OE p. ns, see Anz. f. d. Alt. XII, 181. The Rom. form *-ran(nus)* goes back on Latinized *-ramnus* < **raƀnus*[2]. As regards *-rand* it is impossible to determine whether it is < *-ran* with excrescent *d*, or < OG *rant*, *rand* 'Schildbuckel, Schildrand'[3].

Bertrand see the preceding name.

Bertunt (Shropsh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 48.

OG *Berahthund*, *Berthund* F 291. For the first member see *Berta;* the second member is probably OHG *hunt* (OE *hund*) 'Hund', see Socin p. 196[4]. It is wanting in OE p. ns both as a first and as a second member.[5]

Beslin mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 108.

This name has been explained by Eckhardt p. 348, who says it is "entweder als potenzierte deminutivbildung zu Bēsel (Grueber p. 22) oder als koseform auf *lin* zu Bosa aufzufassen". The difficulty is, however, that the dim. suff. *-lin* (< *il* + *in*) seems to be absent from OE p. ns. There is at least not a single instance where it might be assumed with certainty. I therefore think that Grueber is quite

[1] *Bart-* for *Bert-* is due to the OF dialectal development of pretonic *er* > *ar*, for which see ZfdA 37, 304, Schwahn-Behrens § 88 remark, and Behrens p. 91.

[2] Cf. Mackel p. 189, Kalbow p. 74.

[3] See Kalbow pp. 91, 96.

[4] Cf. also the etymological suggestions in F 928.

[5] See Björkman, Pers. p. 70.

right in explaining it as a Frankish name, all the more as it occurs on the St. Eadmund coins. Its etymon is probably OG **Besilin*, a dim. form of *Baso* F 249. It might further be < OG *Boselin* (see below), influenced by OE *Bēsel*.

Billeheud de Campes CR II p. 168 (AD 1227).

OG *Bilihild*[1] (fem.), common, F 306, Provençal *Billieldis* Mackel p. 97. No OE equivalent is on record.

Birinus, *Byrinus* (Bish.) AS Chr. 634 A, 635 A, 639 A, 650 A; sc̃e *Bir[in]e* biscope BCS 493 (AD 856); in KCD 512 the same person appears as *Berino* (abl.) episcopo. Cf. also St. *Birin* (Bish. of Genoa) Lib. Hyde, Index p. 409.

Moorman (The Pl. Ns of the West Riding of Yorksh. p. 36) explains the pl. n. *Brinsworth* as containing the OE p. n. *Birinus*, a Latinized form of OE *Berwine*, *Birwine* < *Beorn-*, *Biornwine*[2]. The most serious objection to this even otherwise unsatisfactory explanation of *Birinus* is that the bishop who bore this name was a foreigner like his two successors Agilberht and Leutherius. Cf. Bede HE L III, C VII: "Eo tempore gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissæ uocabantur, regnante Cynigilso, fidem Christi suscepit, prædicante illis verbum *Birino episcopo, qui cum consilio papæ Honorii uenerat Brittaniam . . .*", and AS Chr. 649 E:" . . *æfter Byrine þam Romanisca* (sic!) *biscop*". *Birinus* is probably identical with OG *Pirn*, *Pyrin* (male) and fem. *Birina*, for which see F 266. As regards the pl. n. *Brinsworth*, it probably contains OE *Bryni*, *Bryne* (cf. *Brynes fleot*, *Brynes ham* etc.), explained by Müller p. 65.

Blancard(us) (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 295; Robertus *Blancar*[3] (Norf.) ibid. p. 50; Willelmus *Blanchard* RM I p. 275, CMR I p. 167 (AD 1219); Thome (gen.) *Blanchard* (Berks.)

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[1] For first member see *Belisent;* second member is the same as in **Ainild.*

[2] *Ber-* is as a rule not from *Beorn-*, but belongs to OE *bera* 'ursus'.

[3] First abbot of Battle, formerly a monk of Marmoutier; cf. FNC IV p 406.

FA I p. 66 (AD 1428); *Blandchard* (surname) CR II p. 100 (AD 1226), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 109.

OG *Blankard*, *Blancard*, *Blanchard* (Rom.) F 310, OF *Blancart*, *Blanchart* Langlois p. 99. The first member is OHG *blanc* 'weiss glänzend'[1]. For the second member see **Actard*.

Blanch(i)a: *Blanchee* (gen.) Rot. Orig. II p. 346 (Edw. III); *Blanchie* (dat.) ibid. p. 54; domina *Blanchia* (Regina Angliæ) RH II p. 14 (Edw. I); *Blanchia* (filia domini regis)[2] FA V p. 227 (AD 1402); *Blaunche* (gen.) Rot. Orig. I p. 182; cf. Bardsley p. 109.

Blanca, *Blancia* (Rom.) F 310, OF *Blanche* Langlois p. 99. Cf preceding name. As to its sense, *Blanche* is to be compared with the OE Christian names *Hwita* (male) and *Hwitæ* (fem.). When used as a surname, it is to be considered as an OF by-name. The male equivalent *Blancus* appears as a surname (Dimidius *Blancus*) in Ellis, Intr. II p. 295.

Blize quidam (Kent) Ellis, Intr. II p. 296.

Probably a Rom. form of an OG etymon **Blizo*, a hypochoristic formation of some compound with *Blīd-* (OHG *blīdi*, OE *blīþe*). Cf. *Blyza* = *Blidiza* Stark p. 79. For the final *e* see *Azo*.

Boc(h)ard, see *Burcard*.

Bodin (Staff.), *Boding* constabularius (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 50; *Bodin* (Yorks.), *Bodin* (et Herveus) (Yorks.) ibid. p. 296; *Bodyn'* de Kant (= Gant?) RH I p. 421 (Edw. I)[3]; *Boidini* (gen.) (mercator de Gant) CR I p. 208 (AD 1214); *Bodin* RH II p. 768; *Bodin* (surname) ibid. p. 794, Abbr. Plac. p. 117, CCR I p. 300; *Boidino* (dat.) de Cassel CR I p. 220 (AD 1215); *Boidino* (dat.) ibid. p. 194 (AD 1215); *Boidini* (gen.) Lungelance ibid. II p. 112 (AD 1226), *Boidin*, *Boydin* (surnames) CCR I p. 302, Inq. Non. p. 402, etc.

It is possible that *Boding* above is a patronymic of *Boda* (see *Anderboda*), but it may equally well be < *Bodin* by

[1] For the different dialectal treatment of [*k*] before *a* in OF see *Acard*.

[2] Daughter of Henry IV.

[3] Cf. *Boyedinus* de Gaunt RH I p. 385 (Edw. I).

the influence of patronymics in *-ing*, or owing to Rom. nasal pronunciation[1]. On the other hand, *Bodin* might of course be < *Boding* (cf. Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10), which, however, does not seem likely in the present case. As regards OE *Bodwine*, it need not be taken into account for explaining *Bodin*, because, even if it really existed (see *Anderboda*), it can at any rate not account for the numerous instances of *Bodin* in post-Conquest times, all the more as some of the instances are clearly continental. Bardsley, p. 115, gives the following explanation of *Bodin*: "Baldwin popularly and under French influence Bodin, Boden". This suggestion can hardly be correct since *Baldwin* appears in OF as *Baudoïn*, not as **Bōdwin* or **Bōdoïn*. *Bodin* is probably < *Baudin*, *Baudenus* (Rom.) F 250, containing a stem *Baud-* (second gradation form of Goth. **-biudan*) with OG or OF transition of *au* > *o*[2]. Whether the first *i* of *Boidin*[3] is to be explained with Kalbow (p. 133) as "vorklingend (nach boidie?)", I must leave the question open; the form cannot at any rate be kept distinct from *Bodin*.

Boding, see preceding name.

Boga, see the following name.

Boia, *Boga*, *Boiga* mon. (Alfred — Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 61, 62, 98, 105, 146, 158, 189, 210, 218, 260, 353, 435[4]; *Bogea* mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 11; *Boia* BCS 1130 (AD 980); *Boia* ðe ealde KCD 922 (Eadwine); *Boia* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 50; *Boia* (homo Episcopi) Inq. Eliens. p. 498.

Cf. *Boio*, *Boia* F 324, belonging to the name of the *Boii*[5]. On the spellings *g*, *ig*, *ge* see Sievers Ags. Gr. § 175, 2. *Boia* (BCS 1130) might be a short form of *Maneboia*, occurring

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[1] Cf. Luhmann p. 37.

[2] See *Audoenus*.

[3] Also occurring in OF, see Langlois p. 102.

[4] *Boigalet* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 108 is probably an error for *Boiga*.

[5] Cf. Wrede, Ostg. 111, v. Grienberger Litbl. 12, 234 and Holder.

in the same charter. — The ME name *Bogo* (e. g. *Bogo* de Clare, Plac. p. 810, *Bogo* de Knoville FA V p. 205) is of different origin and perhaps not to be kept distinct from OG *Bugo* F 343 or OE *Buga*.

Boidin, see *Bodin.*

Boiga, see *Boia.*

[**Bonsig** minister KCD 810 (AD 1061).

Bon- occurs in some continental p. ns, where it is assumed by Bruckner (p. 237) to be related to ON *bôn*, OE *bēn* 'Bitte'. The present name, however, is most probably a mistake for *Bondig* (cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 28) and identical with *Bondi* minister occurring KCD 811 (AD 1061)].

Boselin(us) (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297; *Boselinus* CMR I p. 129, III pp. 262, 263[1].

This name might have been formed from native *Bosel* (< *Bosa*)[2] by means of Rom. *-īn* but is in my opinion rather to be considered as the OG or Rom. form *Boselin*, F 330.

Boso, see *Boselin(us).*

Brochard, see *Burcard.*

Brumanbeard, see **Brun.*

Brunel, see **Brun.*

Brunier, see **Brun.*

***Brun**: *Bruno* (dat.) de Coloñ CR II p. 38 (AD 1225).

OG *Brun*[3] F 338, OF *Brun* Langlois p. 118 f. A Rom. dim. form is perhaps *Brunel* (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 299. *Brun(a)* and some compounds with this element occur in OE. It is therefore impossible to determine to what extent continental p. ns are represented among the frequent DB-names with *Brun-*. *Brumanbeard* (homo Normanni, Suff.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 60, seems to be a NF hybrid form of *Bru-*

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[1] Cf. Archiv 123 p. 32.

[2] = OG *Boso* F 329 (OF *Boson* Langlois p. 106), belonging to OHG *bôsi* 'böse'. Of continental origin is probably *Boso* (homo Aluredi de Lincole) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297; cf. also *Boso* (diaconus Cardinalis) RM I p. 354.

[3] OHG *brûn* (OE *brūn*) 'braun'.

man (cf. *Bruman* < *Brunman* F 341 and *Bruman(n)us*, Ellis, Intr. II p. 60) + *bard*[1]. Another compound of continental origin is probably *Brunier* (Linc.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 61, = OF *Brunier* (Langlois p. 120) < OG **Brunhari*, *Brunheri* F 340.

Buc(h)ard, see the following name.

Burcard: *Burcardus* (Ess. Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 62; *Burcardus* de Fenelai (Buck.) ibid; *Burcardus* (huscarle regis, Buck.), *Burkart* teinus (Buck.), *Burcardus* (Suff.), *Burchart* (Nott.) ibid.; *Bucardus* (Suff.) ibid. p. 299; *Bocard*, *Bokard*, *Bochard*, *Buchard* (surnames) Abbr. Plac. pp. 131, 217, Rot. Oblat. p. 61 (AD 1200), RH I p. 382, II p. 333; Iterius *Bochardi* CCR II p. 206 (AD 1277) = *Iterius* de Ingolisma ('Angoulême') ibid. p. 257 (AD 1281).

OG *Burghard*, *Burcard*, *Burckard*[2] etc. F 348. The *o* for *u* of the first member might be due to AN spelling habits, but is rather to be explained from the OF transition of *u* > *o* (cf. Kalbow p. 104). The above forms start from an HG etymon *Burc-hart*, whence the interchange of *c* and *ch* will be due to the different development of [*k*] before *a* in OF, for which see *Acard*[3]. The forms *Bucardus*, *Bocard*, *Bochard* (OF *Bouchart*, *Bochart* Langlois p. 107) are due to dissimilatory loss of the first *r*[4]. The surname *Brochard* (e. g. CCR I p. 147 (AD 1232), RLP p. 185) < OF *Brochart* (Langlois p. 116) is from the same OG etymon with metathesis of *r*[5]. It seems likely that **Brochard* (in *Brochardes ford*) KCD 570[6] (AD 972) is the same name

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[1] See *Isenbard*.

[2] First member is OHG, OS *burg* (OE *burg*, *burh*) 'Burg'; for second member see **Actard*. The OE equivalent is *Burgheard*.

[3] On the phonetical value of *c* and *ch* in AN texts see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 32 f.

[4] Cf. Kalbow p. 121.

[5] See Kalbow p. 122, Mackel p. 188.

[6] This charter is starred.

and does not contain an element *Brōc-* (e. g. OE *brōc*, OHG *bruoh*, ON *brók*[1]).

Burnhard, see *Bernard.*

C.

Carl, *Karl* and Latinized *Carolus*, *Karlus*[2] are either of ON or OG origin[3]. The only certain OG instances in England are those which designate *Charlemagne*, *Charles the Bald*, *Charles the Fat*, *Carloman*, and *Charles*, Count of Flanders. The common ME forms *Charles* and *Carles* are NF[4] or due to NF influence. For *ch* : *c* < *[k]* see *Acard*, for *-es* see Schwahn-Behrens § 289.

Carleman: *Carlomanno* (abl.) rege Francorum KCD 824; *Carman* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 65; *Carleman* (surname) RH II p. 579 (Edw. I); *Carleman* (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 204, 398.

OG *Carl(e)man*, *Carloman*[5] etc. F 360. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 78.

Clare(n)bald: *Clarebaldus* (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 302; *Clareboldus* (Suff.) ibid. p. 69; *Clarenbaldus* (Ess.) ibid. p. 302; *Clarembaldus* (prior de Bermundeseye) Ann. Berm. p. 438 (AD 1146); *Clarembaldus* sæcularis Hist. Aug. p. 35 (AD 1163); *Clarembald* (Norf.) RCR II p. 26 (AD 1199); *Clareboldus* (Bedf.) Fin. I p. 64 (John); *Clerembald* CR II p. 128 (AD 1226); *Clerenbaud* RCR I p. 266 (AD 1199); *Clerenbaut* ibid. p. 349 (AD 1199); *Clerebaldus* le Burdel RH II p. 447 (Edw. I.). According to Searle, *Clarembaldus* occurs

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[1] Cf. *Broclous* Björkman, Namenk. p. 28.

[2] OHG *karal*, ON *karl* 'Mann'.

[3] Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 76.

[4] Cf. *Charles* and *Carles*, Langlois p. 139.

[5] First member as in preceding name, second member is OHG *man* (OE *mon*) 'Mann'. Cf. also Socin p. 196.

in England as early as c. AD 950, as the name of a monk of Croyland.

Clare(m)bald F 369, *Clarembaut* Langlois p. 148, hybrid forms of Latin *clarus* + OG *-bald*[1]. Cf. Kalbow pp. 32, 151. *Clere(n)-* represents the OF development.

Claremunda, *Claremund'* uxor Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 354 (AD 1241).

Claramunda, Socin p. 88, OF *Claremonde,* Langlois p. 148; a male equivalent is *Clarmunt* F 369. For the first member see the preceding name; *-munda* is a fem. form of the name-element *-mund* (OHG *munt,* OE *mund* 'Hand, Schutz')[2].

Clere(n)bald, see *Clare(n)bald.*

Colbert(us), *Colibertus* (Dev. Hants. Chesh. Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 69, 70, 304; *Colberto* (dat.) Pipe Roll II p. 42.

OG *Colobert* F 371, French *Colbert,* see Kremers p. 66. The first member is probably OHG *kolo, kol* (OE *col,* ON *kol*) 'Kohle'; it is absent from native OE p. ns[3]. For the second member see *Adalbert.*

Colman, *Coleman, Colaman* mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Harold I.) Grueber pp. 198, 296, 302, 460, Hildebrand pp. 132, 264, 288, 306, 366; *Coleman* LVD pp. 7, 62, 70; *Coleman(nus)* (Hants., Berks. Oxf. etc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 70; *Colemannus* (monachus de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 442 (AD 1164); *Colemannus* monachus (Worc.) Ann. Wig. p. 375 (AD 1113); *Coleman* Ped. Fin. II p. 101 (AD 1197), RCR I p. 173 (AD 1198), Chr. Petr. p. 112, KC p. 153, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 547 (AD 1271); further instances are found in Bardsley p. 195[4].

OG *Coloman, Colman,* Mod. G *Collmann, Kohlmann*[5] F

[1] See *Albod(o).*

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 71.

[3] See Björkman, Pers. p. 83.

[4] Cf. also the pl. ns *Coleman's Hatch* Roberts p. 50, *Colemanestrete* Rot. Fin. p. 198 (AD 1204) etc.

[5] First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Carleman.*

372. Consideration must, however, be paid to another explanation, viz. that the instances of *Colman* in England are to some extent of Celtic origin. Cf. AS Chr. 664 A: "*Colman mid his gefērum fōr to his cyððe*", which latter word means Scotland, as is to be seen from Bede, HE L III, c. XXVI: "*Colman ... in Scotiam regressus est*". There is no reason for assuming that this Bishop of Lindisfarne was from the continent or bore a continental name, since we know that *Colman* is a very common name in Irish records. Cf. Gir. Cambr. V p. 418, where it is said that "ninety-four saints of this name are enumerated in the Martyrology of Donegal. Other writers have made even more". According to Holder p. 1066 Irish *Colman(us)* is < *Columbanus* < *Colum-agnus* < **Colum(b)-agnos* [1]. Miss Yonge (p. 187) goes so far as to suggest that Germ. *Colman* is due to *Columbanus*, the name of the Irish missionary, whose day, November 1st, the Germans call *St. Colman's*. Although the existence of OG *Colman* need not be ascribed to Celtic influence, since both members occur elsewhere in OG p. ns, it seems likely, however, that the Irish name *Colman* may at least have contributed to render the continental name popular [2].

Conrad: *Conradus* (monachus et sacrista ... ac regis Henrici I confessor) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 294; *Conradus* abbas ibid. p. 46 (AD 1120); *Conradus* LVD p. 32 (12th or 13th c.); Magistro *Conrado* (dat.) CR I p. 541 (AD 1223); *Conradus* de Bolle de Burdegal ('Bordeaux') ibid. p. 620 (AD 1224); *Conradus* de Villa Franca (Linc.) Plac. p. 440 (Edw. I.); *Conrado* (abl.) Clippyng (et sociis suis mercatoribus Alemanum) Rot. Orig. II p. 167 (Edw. III.); *Conrado* (abl.) (procuratore ... Lodowyci de Sabaudia) Giff. Reg. p. 301 (AD 1276); *Conrad* (fil. Abraam de Gotoum) RLP I p. 82

[1] Zimmer p. 63 considers **Columbagnus* to be a Latinized form of original *Columbān*.

[2] The instances of *Colman* in Denmark have been introduced from Germany, see Björkman, Pers. p. 85.

(AD 1208); *Conrado* ballistario (dat.) CR I p. 548 (AD 1222); *Conrado* (dat.) nuntio Regis Norwag̃ ibid. p. 509 (AD 1222)[1]; *Conradi* (gen.) Hardebolle (mercator de Alemañ vel de terra Ducis Brabant̃) ibid. II p. 135 (AD 1226); *Conrad* de Sancto Nazario CCR II p. 4 (AD 1257); *Conradus* van Dorvin als *Cunse* van Dorvin, sadeler, Duchman FY p. 122 (AD 1414), etc.

OG *Conrad*[2] (common) F 373 f. The OE equivalent is *Cēnred*. — *Corand*, *Coraunt* (e. g. Michael *Corand*, Nich. *Corand*, Joh. *Coraunt* Rot. Orig. I p. 175, II pp. 119, 127, Inq. Non. p. 84) perhaps stand for *Conrad*; cf. *Corandus* imperator (Chr. Petr. p. 2) = *Conrad* III.

***Cunbert**: *Cunberto* (abl.) medico (of Henry I.) CCR II p. 81 (AD 1267).

Cf. OG *Cunibert*, *Cunpert*[3] etc. F 379. This derivation is uncertain because *u* might be an AN spelling for OE *ȳ*[4], whence *Cunbert* may be < OE *Cynebeorht*.

[**Cunda** episcopus[5] BCS 416 (AD 836); *Cundo* Le Bret (Dev.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 30 (AD 1219); cf. also the pl. n. *Condicote* of which "the prefix represents the AS p. n. *Cunda*" according to Baddeley, Glouc. Pl. Ns p. 46.

The above forms are certainly not to be derived from OG *Chundo*, *Cundho* and fem. *Chunda* F 694 f. (< *gund-*, OE *gūþ*, or < *kund*, OE *cūþ*) but to be explained as identical with the first member of *Cundwalh* and *Cundigern* in LV, which probably is Celtic[6]. The addition of *Le Bret* also

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[1] According to Lind 713, ON *Konráðr* is in most cases of foreign origin.

[2] First member is OHG *kuoni* (OE *cēne*) 'kühn', from which OHG *chunni* (OE *cyn*) 'Geschlecht' is sometimes difficult to differentiate in p. ns; for second member see *Adradus*.

[3] First member is OHG *chunni*, see preceding name; for second member se *Adalbert*.

[4] Cf. Schlemilch p. 14, Luhmann p. 100.

[5] Bish. of Elmstan or Dunwich according to Searle, AS Bish., Kings etc. p. 46.

[6] Cf. Hellwig p. 42, Müller p. 113.

speaks in favour of this assumption. A fem. form of the same name is evidently *Cundya* (wife of Gilbert Ithelockes) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 224 (AD 1232)].

Cunegard (uxor Ade de Mandeville, Hertf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 8 (Rich. I.).

OG *Cunigard* F 380. For the first member see **Cunbert*, for the second member, *Aldeardis*.

Cunse, see *Conrad*.

D.

Dachelin (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 73; Alicia *Dacolyn* (Bedf.) FA I p. 27 (AD 1346).

Dacolenus (Rom.) beside *Dacilus* F 392, derivatives from *Dag-* (OHG *tac*, OE *dæg* 'Tag'). *c* is in this case probably to be explained in the same way as in *Droco*, see *Drogo*. The phonetical value of *ch* in DB before *e* and *i* is mostly [*k*], see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p 34. Instances of dim. *-ol-* beside the usual *-il-*, *-el-* are frequent in Latinized p. ns. Cf. e. g. *Abbolenus* : *Abbelin*, *Andolenus* : *Andelin*, *Addolenus* : *Attelin*, *Dodolenus* (> OF *Doolin*) : *Totilin* etc. — As regards the surname *Daulin* RH I p. 296 (Edw. I.), it might be < **Dagelin* > **Dawelin* > **Dau(e)lin* [1], thus exhibiting a development analogous to that of the pl. n. *Hagemon* (RH II p. 83) > *Hawemon* (ibid. p. 77) > *Haumon* (ibid. pp. 75, 76); it is more likely, however, that it is a dim. form of *Dau* (*Daw*) < *Dave* < *Davy*, *Dauy* [2].

Dacolyn, see preceding name.

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[1] On *u* for *w* see Luhmann p. 41.

[2] Cf. Sundén, Hyp. Suff. p. 153. The OF forms are *Davi*, *Dauy* and *David*.

Dagemond, *Daiemond*, *Degemund*, *Deimund* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115.

OG *Dagamund*[1] F 395. The diphthong *ai* in the above form *Daiemond* is probably due to WF-Rom. development of *aga* > *aie* (cf. Lat. *plaga* > *plaie*, *saga* > *saie*), but might also start from a form **Dagimund*[2] (see *Aia*). The equivalent OE forms are *Dægmund*, *Degmund* or *Deimund*[3]. Since all the forms given above probably designate one and the same moneyer, *Degemund* and *Deimund* are most simply accounted for as being Anglicized. *-mond* shows Rom. development of *u* > *o*, for which cf. Kalbow p. 104.

Dagobertus (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 73; cf. also *Dagobert* FNC Index p. 55; *Dagobert* se cing, AS Chr. 715 F, is *Dagobert* III., King of Neustria.

OG *Dagobert* etc. F 392 f. For the members see *Dagemond* and *Adalbert*. As regards the composition-vowel *o* cf. Gröger p. 240, Mackel p. 15 and Kalbow p. 24.

Deinolt mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 115.

OG *Theganolt*, *Deganolt*, *Thegenolt*[4], etc. F 1408. From the spelling on the coins it is not to be ascertained whether *d* or *þ* is the initial letter of the above name, since they are often confused. As regards the second member, both the loss of *w* and the obscuration of *a* > *o* are known in OE as well as in OG p. ns. The final *t* < *d*, however, is WF, see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 90. Hence the initial letter is probably *d* (< *þ*), see Braune § 165 ff.

Deudeuize (gender unknown, but probably fem.) LVD p. 103 (13th or 14th c.).

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[1] First member as in preceding name; for second member see *Claremunda*.

[2] For the composition-joint *i* see Gröger p. 236 ff.

[3] Cf. Bülbring, Ae Elem. § 505.

[4] First member is OHG *degan*, OS *thegan* (OE *þegn*) 'Gefolgsmann, Diener', also occurring in OE p. ns both as a first and as a second member. For second member see *Ansoldus*.

The first member is OHG *deota, diota, diot* (OE *þeod*) 'Volk'. *eu* might be a continental traditional spelling, but is rather to be considered as the peculiarity of a Norman scribe[1]. The etymology of the second member, *-wiz*, which is used as the termination of both male and fem. p. ns in OG, is not clear. F 1626 associates it with the OHG verb *wizzan* 'scire' and the adj. *wiz* 'gnarus', or suggests it is a secondary form of the fem. Latinized name-element *-widis*, which latter explanation seems most probable in the present case; cf. *Teutoidis* (Rom.) F 1451. The final *e* is < the Latin ending *a* or has been added analogically.

Diota (fem.) LVD p. 116 (14th or 15th c).

OG *Deota, Thiota, Tiota* (fem.) and *Dioto* (male) F 1411 f., hypochoristic forms of compounds with OHG *deota, diota* etc., see preceding name. The spelling *io* is remarkable since OG *io* (< *eo* < *eu*) has become *ie* at the end of the 10th c.[2] A late transcription?

Dodin, see *Duduc.*

Doduca, see *Duduc.*

Dreu, Driu, see *Drogo.*

Droard, see *Druard.*

Droco, see the following name.

Drogo (Yorks., Linc.), *Drogo* de Montagud (Som.) *Drogo* (filius Ponz) (Wilts., Glouc., Worc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 405; *Drogo* (homo Roberti Malet) (Norf.) ibid. II p. 75; *Drogo* quidam (Linc.), *Drogo* (homo Radulfi) (Linc.) ibid. p. 308; *Drugo* de la Bouerer, Flandrensis[3] FNC IV p. 798; *Drogo* (Norf.) RCR II p. 195 (AD 1200); *Drogo* Barentyn CRC p. 63 (Hen. III.); *Drogoñ* (gen.) de Dieꝑ ('Dieppe') CR I p. 108 (AD 1208); *Drogone* (abl.) de Trubleviĺl ibid. II p. 27 (AD 1225); *Droco* Hist. Ab. II pp. 67, 68, 69, 70; *Droco* venator

[1] Cf. Luhmann p. 148.

[2] Cf. Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 48.

[3] "miles quidam qui cum ipso (Will. the Conq.) in Angliam venerat."

ibid. p. 143; Walterus *Dru*[1] (Wilts.) Plac. p. 796 (Edw. I.); *Driu* de Hairun (Ros) RB p. 432 (AD 1166); *Dreu* LVD p. 56; Hug' *Dreu* (Suff.) Inq. Non. p. 101. Further instances are found in Bardsley p. 253[2].

OG *Drogo*[3], *Droco* F 420, Waltemath p. 19. For the forms with *c* side by side with original *g* see Bruckner p. 158, Schönfeld p. 68 and Kauffmann Germ. XXXVII p. 247 f. The forms *Dru*, *Driu* and *Dreu* are NF. Cf. Kalbow pp. 73, 113. The NE surnames *Drewes*, *Druce* may be < OF *Dreus*, *Drues*, but also from the pl. n. *Dreuues* ('Dreux') in Normandy. Cf. Amelricus de *Dreuues*, Herman de *Dreuues* Ellis, Intr. I p. 405.

Dru, see preceding name.

Druard: *Droard* Hildebrand DB p. 355; *Druardo* (dat.) de Bedf. Pipe Roll I p. 18, III p. 11.

OF *Droart*, *Drouart* (Langlois p. 181), by Kalbow (p. 140) derived from *Drōghardus* (recorded?). For the members see *Drogo* and **Actard*.

Duduc, *Duduco*, *Dudoca*, *Doduca*, *Dodica* episcopus KCD 760, 762, 763, 764, 767, 768, 770, 771, 772, 774, 775, 776, 778, 779, 780 etc. (AD 1038—1060), AS Chr. 1046 E, 1060 D, 1061 E, etc.[4]

OG *Dudecho*, *Dodica*, *Dodico* F 413, 1413, dim. forms of

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[1] A NF dim. form is *Druet* (e. g. *Druet* de Midelh' et Gervasius pater ejus LVD p. 112, *Druet'* de Pratell̃ RH II p. 845).

[2] Bardsley is not quite right in stating that this name was introduced into England by Dru de Baladon, a follower of the Conqueror. *Drogo* occurs as the name of a landholder already in the time of Edw. the Conf. (Ellis, Intr. II p. 75), and further, there were more than one of William's companions who may share the honour with Dru de Baladon of having contributed to render this p. n. common in England.

[3] For the etymology see Bruckner p. 243.

[4] All these instances refer to Dudoc, Bish. of Wells 1033—1060. A notice about his nationality is given by Flor. Wig. AD 1060: "Wellensis episcopus *Duduc* obiit: cui successit Gisa regis capellanus; *ambo de Lotharingia oriundi*".

Duda, *Doda* of debated etymology. Cf. Wrede, Ostg. p. 120 f., Schönfeld p. 72 and literature there quoted. Other instances of *Duduc* and compounds with *Dud-* in England are probably as a rule native, and the same is also the case with *Doda* and compounds. As regards *Dodin*, Ellis, Intr. I p. 405, II p. 307, it might be derived from a native *Doding* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 74)[1] but is perhaps rather from a NF dim. form *Dodin*; cf. *Dodin* F 414.

Durand: *Durant*, *Duran*, *Durtan* mon. (Aethelred II.) Hildebrand pp. 58, 154; *Durand(es)*, *Duraint* mon. (Eadmund, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 130, 178, 188; *Durandus* vicecomes (Glouc. Heref.), *Durandus* carpentarius (Dors.), *Durandus* tonsor (Hants.), *Durandus* Malet (Leic. Nott.), Aseloc *Durand* (Nott.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 365, 406, II p. 76; *Durandus* (canonicus S. Pauli Lond.), *Durandus* prepositus (North.) ibid. p. 308; *Durandus* LVD pp. 46, 51, 60, 69, 98; *Durant* Boni (merchant of Florence) RH I p. 357, Giff. Reg. p. 110 (AD 1267); *Durantus* Longus RB p. 256 (AD 1166); *Durant* (surname) Chr. Petr. p. 108; *Dorand* Prior. Finch. p. 106; Johannes *Doraunt*, cotoler, FY p. 19 (AD 1319); the pl. n. *Durandes torp*, Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns, Intr. p. 56; see further Bardsley p. 259.

OG *Durand*[2] (common) F 435, OF *Durant* Langlois p. 183. For the etymology see Bruckner p. 314 and Wrede, Ostg. p. 77.

E.

Ebo, see the following name.

Ebulo (*Eblone*, abl.) de Geneve Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 58 (AD 1249); *Ebulo* de Montibus (Rutl.) CCR III p. 311 (AD 1316).

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[1] See *Bodin* and Archiv 123 p. 32.

[2] An original present participle, see Socin p. 185.

OG *Ebulo*, *Eblo* ('öfters') beside *Ebilo* (> OF *Eble* Langlois p. 185) F 437, dim. forms of *Ebo*[1] ibid. 436. The latter name seems to occur in (Henricus) *Ebo* LVD p. 89. The dim. suff. *-ul*, of which Stark has collected some instances p. 56, foot-note 2, is a gradation-form of *-il* (Wrede, Ostg. p. 195) or rather due to adaptation of *-il* to Latin *-ulus* (Meyer-Lübke p. 88 f.).

***Eburhard**: *Efrard*, *Eoferard* mon. (Aethelstan, Eadwig, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 109, 110, 163; *Ebrardus* (homo W. de Perci), *Ebrard* (homo Willelmi Colit), *Ebrardus* (Linc.), *Eurardus* (Som., Cambr., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 407, II pp. 77, 309, 315; *Eourard* (Bish. of Norwich)[2] AS Chr. 1130 E; *Eurardus*, *Everardus*, *Efrardus*, *Eouerardus* LVD pp. 19, 54, 55, 63, 64, 82; *Everard* (son of Odelerius of Orléans and brother of Orderic) FNC IV p. 496; *Eborardus* de Bece (Cant.) RB p. 367 (AD 1166); *Everard* de Ros ibid. p. 40 (AD 1167—68); *Eborardi* (gen.) le Frenshe, *Evorardus* le Fraunceys Rot. Orig. II p. 166 (Edw. III.) FA I p. 136 (AD 1284—86); *Everard* de Luvain CR I p. 195 (AD 1215); *Eborardus* Penier (merchant of Ypres) RH I p. 314 (Edw. I.), etc.[3]

OG *Ebur-*, *Ebor-*, *Eber-*, *Ebr-*, *Efur-*, *Ever-*, *Evr(e)-*, *Eur(e)-hard*, *-hart*[4] F 441 f. The interchange of *b* and *v* (*u*, *f*) is due to the different treatment of intervocalic *b* in the OG dialects, for which see Franck Afr. Gr. § 78 ff., Braune Ahd. Gr. § 134 f. and Gallée As. Gr. § 223. On the OF form *Evr(e)-*[5] (*Eur-*) see Kalbow p. 127 f. It is uncertain whether *Eofor-* existed as a native name-element. It is

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[1] *Eb-* is a secondary name stem. Cf. F 435 and *Eb(b)o* = *Eberhardus* Stark p. 40.

[2] See DCB.

[3] The form *Erfrurdus* LVD p. 62 is distinctly to be read *Efrard'* in the photograph of the MS that Prof. Björkman has kindly lent me.

[4] First member is OHG *ebur*, OS *ebur* (*evur*), OE *eofor* 'Eber'; second member as in **Actard*.

[5] OF *Ev(e)rart* Langlois p. 209.

true that *Eoforhwæt* and *Eoforuulf* occur in LV (see Müller p. 80)[1] but in conformity with what has been said under **Aegelbert*, continental p. ns may be found in that document, too. The name-element under notice is at any rate seldom recorded in OE, since, with the exception of the two above-mentioned forms, it occurs only in a few names on coins from Eadw. the Elder onwards, where, moreover, continental influence is highly probable.

***Eburwulf**: *S. Ebrulfi*[2] (gen.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 408.

OG *Eb(e)rulf*[3] F 447. Of continental origin is probably also *Eferulf*, *Eoferulf* mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 131, 147. *Ef(e)r-* in this name as well as in *Efrard* (see preceding name) to some extent also points to OG origin, since the OE equivalent is *Eofor-* (*Eofer-*). The latter forms are in this case to be considered as Anglicized.

Ecard: *Ecceard* smith (smið)[4] BCS 1254 (c. AD 970), LVD p. 56; *Ecardi* (gen.) de Bleu RCR I p. 341 (AD 1199); *Ecard'* (gen.) ibid. II p. 74; *Ecard* (surname) RH I p. 478 (Edw. I); *Echarde* (surname) Duc. Lanc. p. 224 (Edw. VI), etc.

OHG *Eckehard*, *Eckard* etc. F 21. The first member is OHG *ecka* (OS *eggja*, OE *ecg*) 'Schneide, Schwert'[5]; for *c* : *ch* (*Ecard* : *Echarde*), see *Acard*. The equivalent OE form is *Ecgheard*, appearing in ME as *Eggard*. In my opinion it is out of the question that *Ecard* should have arisen from *Ecgheard* (or rather **Eggheard*[6]) by the influence of the following *h*, as might be concluded from the following statement of Sundén's, Hyp. Suff. p. 138, foot-note 1: "This (OE *Ecca*) is probably a hypochoristic form of names com-

[1] *Eofor* in Beow. is the name of a Geat.

[2] *St. Evroul* in the Diocese of Lisieux in Normandy; cf. Schätzer p. 28.

[3] First member as in preceding name, second member as in *Adelulfus*.

[4] Cf. Binz p. 210.

[5] For second member see **Actard*.

[6] Cf. Bülbring § 499.

pounded with *Ecg-* + a theme beginning with a voiceless consonant, e. g. *-frith, -heard, -hun*". There is, as far as my knowledge goes, not a single instance in OE p. ns to prove that *h* has been capable of unvoicing a preceding consonant, whereas this phenomenon is frequently met with in consonants followed by *c, f, s* or *þ*. But allowance must certainly be made for analogical influence. Thus *Ecbriht* AS Chr. 677 E (= Ecgbriht of Kent ibid. 661 E), *Eculf*, Ellis, Intr. II p. 78 (probably < OE Ecgwulf) etc., have been influenced by such forms as *Ecferð* (= the Northumbr. King *E(c)gferð* AS Chr. 670 E, 679 E, 709 A) and *Echefrid* (*ch* = *k*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 77, where [*k*] is no doubt due to the following voiceless consonant. In *Ecceard*, if continental, as I think it most likely to be, the second *e* is probably the OG composition-joint.

Ecceard, see preceding name.

Echebrand, *Echebrant, Aechebrant*[1], *Eghebrand*[2], *Egbrand* (Yorks. Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 4, 77, 94, 309.

Cf. OG *Agibrand, Achibrand* etc. F 19. If the first member of these forms belongs to *agan* 'sich fürchten' as Bruckner (p. 218) assumes, they are to be kept distinct from the above-mentioned name, of which the first member is no doubt the same as in *Ecard*. It is probable, however, that OG *Agi-* sometimes is < **agja-* 'Ecke', owing to the loss of the composition-vowel and the vocalization of *j*, before the West Germanic consonant gemination through a following *j* took place[3]. The second member, for which see *Aeðelbrand*, is absent from OE p. ns.

Echiward de Chaboneis RLP p. 111 (AD 1214).

OG *Eguard, Ekkeward*[4] F 26. In *Echi-, ch* might have

[1] *ch* denotes [*k*].

[2] *gh* is a Rom. spelling originating in WF to denote explosive *g* before palatal vowels; see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 103.

[3] Cf. Gröger p. 102 and literature there quoted, and Schatz ZfdA 43. 30.

[4] For first member see *Ecard;* second member as in *Beluard*. OE **Ecgweard* is not on record.

been used to denote [*k*] but is rather = OF *ch* < HG *k*, for which see Kalbow p. 141, Mackel p. 143.

Efrard, see **Eburhard.*

Egbrand, Eghebrand, see *Echebrand.*

Egel-: for compounds with this element see **Aegelbert.*

Egelina, see *Adelina.*

Eicmund mon. (Plegmund 890—914, Eadw. the Elder 901—925) Keary p. 80, Grueber pp. 91, 100.

It seems most likely that this name stands for OE *Ecgmund*, as Searle suggests. Continental **Eicmund*, of which the first member would be **Aic-* (see *Acard*), does not seem to be on record.

***Einbold,** *Einboldus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 311.

OG *Aganbold, Eginbald, Ainbold, Einbalt*[1] etc. F 38. On WF *egi* > *ei* see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 105. See further Björkman, Namenk. p. 31.

Eingar (homo Heraldi comitis) Ellis, Intr. II p. 94.

An OG equivalent is not with certainty instanced; see F 39. Cf. the O Swed. surname *Engherson*, which Lundgren (p. 49) suggests contains a p. n. *Enger.*

***Einhard**: *Einard* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 121.

OG *Aginard, Ainard, Einard* etc. F 39. For the members see **Einbold* and **Actard.*

Einulf, see *Aginulf.*

Eldebrand, see *Hildebrand.*

***Eliland**: *Elyland* (Norf.) RH I p. 459 (Edw. I); *Alilandus* Dru CPR I p. 510 (AD 1292).

OG *Eli-, Elyland* F 82. The first member is **alja-* (Goth. *aljis* 'ein anderer', OHG *ali-, eli-*, OE *el(e)-*), see PBB 12, 488 f., Gröger p. 123[2]; for the second member see *Amerland.*

Elinant (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 312; *Elynand'* (gen.) CR I p. 384 (AD 1218—19).

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[1] For the members see *Aginulfus* and *Albod(o).*

[2] On the difficulty of distinguishing this name-element from *ala-* 'all' see Bruckner p. 221, Meyer-Lübke p. 9.

OG *Elinand, Elinant* etc. F 82 f., OF *Elinant* (male) Langlois p. 187 f. For the first member see preceding name, the second member is **nanþ-* (Goth. *ana-nanþjan* 'wagen'), occurring in OE as *-noþ*.

Elisent de Dereberc RCR I p. 301 (AD 1199); *Elisent* (Cornw.) Fines I p. 351; *Helisent* (Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 261 (AD 1205); *Helisend* (cameraria Reginæ Scottorum) Reg. Lib. pp. 151, 152.

OG *Elisind* (fem.) F 83; OF *Elissent, Elisant* (fem.) Langlois p. 329. For the members see **Eliland* and *Alsent*. Another possible etymon is OF *Helissent, Helisend* (fem.) Langlois p. 329, which is to be derived < OG *Heilsind*[1] (fem.) F 728 on account of its *h* 'aspirée'[2].

Elismus mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116.

Elismus (Rom.) F 80. This name is assumed by F to be < **alja-* (see *Eliland*) + the non-Germanic suff. *-sm*, often affixed to Germanic name stems on WF soil; Longnon (p. 344) explains *-(i)smus, (i)sma* as taken from such a name as *Sanctisma* < *Sanctissima*.

Elmegard (Ess.) RCR I p. 99 (AD 1194).

The gender of this name is uncertain. It is perhaps to be derived from OG *Helmgart*[3] F 810. No OE equivalent is on record. Or = *Ermegard* (below)?

Eluis, see *Helewis*.

Emelina (uxor Galfridi, Wilts.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 380 (AD 1262); *Emelina* uxor (Som.) ibid. p. 311 (AD 1259); *Emelina* (uxor Stephani Lungespeye, Dors.) ibid. p. 333 (AD 1260); *Emelinam* (acc.) Priorissam de Ambresbiñ Fin. I p. 145 (John); *Emeliñ* uxˉ RCR I p. 351 (AD 1199); *Emalina* LVD p. 57.

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[1] First member is OG *heil* (OE *hāl*) 'heil', with Rom. transition of pretonic *ei* > *e*.

[2] Cf. Kalbow p. 45.

[3] First member is OG *helm* (OE *helm*) 'Helm'; for second member see *Aldeardis*.

Emelina (Rom.) F 89. This name has been placed by F under *Amal-* but then the *e* of the stem will be difficult to account for. It is perhaps from *Ama*[1] (F 87) + dim. *il* + *ina*, or more likely it has been formed as a dim. of *Emma* (see below); cf. the form *Emalina* above. The surnames *Emelin* CCR II p. 148 (AD 1270), *Hemelin* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 513 (AD 1270), *Emlyn* Cart. Eynsh. II p. 204 etc. are probably < *Emeline* < *Emelina* and not originally male names. — Another NF dim. form is *Emelot* (Abbr. Plac. p. 51) also used as a surname (e. g. RH II p. 612)[2], which is to be distinguished from the surname *Amelot* (RH II p. 260) < *Amal-*.

Emelin, Emelot, see preceding name.

Emericus de Cancell̃ Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 319 (AD 1239); *Emeric'* de Sacy ibid. pp. 280, 426, 439 (AD 1235—45); *Emericus* de Eupe (Linc.) Plac. p. 397 (Edw. I); *Emericus* Eyvill (Yorks.) CRC p. 108 (Edw. I); *Emerico* (dat.) nuntio Savarici de Malo Leone CR II p. 8 (AD 1224); *Emerico* (obl.) (a merchant of Bordeaux) ibid. p. 56 (AD 1225); *Emericus* de Monteforti Ann. Osen. p. 287 (AD 1280); *Emericus* de Friscobald (an Italian) CPR II p. 77 (AD 1308), etc.

The OG etymon is probably *Heimeric* or *Haimeric* (see this name), which has become NF *Emeri* (beside *Aimeri*, Langlois p. 13) with loss of *h* and transition of pretonic *ei* > *e* or in the present case with AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*[3]. This derivation helps to account for the confusion of *Emeric* and *Eimeric* that has been noticed in some cases: *Emericum* magistrum Militiæ Templi Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 161 (AD 1209) = *Eymerico* magistro milite Templi Rot. Oblat. p. 576 (AD 1216); *Emeric'* Albgeri' CR I p. 140 (AD 1214) = *Eymerico* Albergeř ibid. p. 14 (AD 1204), etc.[4]

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[1] Cf. Bruckner p. 222 and Stark p. 41.

[2] See Bardsley p. 273. [3] See Stimming p. 193.

[4] To be taken into account as an etymon of *Emeric* is also OG *Emmerich*, *Emrih*, Mod. G *Emm(e)rich* F 953, the first member of which is < *Ermen-*, see *Emino*.

Emino LVD p. 16.

Emino, Emeno, Emmino etc. (F 951) probably to be derived from *Ermino* (F 474), a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Ermin*[1]; cf. Socin p. 212.

Emma: *Aemma* (Francorum regis filia, regis Aeadbaldi copula)[2] BCS 13 (AD 618); *Emma* regina[3] KCD 727, 733 (AD 1018); the same person is Aelfgyfa *Imma*[4] ibid. 962; *Emma, Emme* LVD pp. 15, 16, 18, 19, 27, 32, 35, 60, 61, 68, 69, 71, 81, 82, 83, 85, 88, 95, 97, 102, 104, 109, 112, 113; *Aemma* ibid. p. 57; the NF dim. form *Emmota* ibid. p. 103, *Emmote* (nom.) RH II p. 351; etc.

OG *Emma* and *Imma* (fem.) F 950, both common names and often used indiscriminately. They are hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Ermin-, Irmin-*[5] such as OG *Ermin-* : *Irminburg, Ermen-* : *Irminhild* etc. In OE, *Imma* occurs, but only as a male name, e. g. Bede HE L IV, C XXII, LV (see Müller p. 56), and in the pl. n. *Immanbeorge* BCS 246 (AD 769—85)[6]. This p. n. has been explained by Müller (ibid.) as belonging to ON *imr* 'lupus' or ON *íma* 'lupa, pugna'. It seems most likely, however, that it should be explained from West Saxon *Irmen-, Yrmen-* (< **ermina-*; cf. Bülbring Ae. Elem. §§ 132, 186)[7] in the same way as continental *Imma* < *Irmin-*[8].

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[1] < **ermana-* 'gewaltig'; besides, there occurs a form **ermina-* appearing as *Irmin-* in OG p. ns; cf. Bruckner p. 64 f., Schönfeld p. 77 and Müller p. 96.

[2] Daughter of Theodebert of Austrasia.

[3] Queen of King Cnut, daughter of Richard of Normandy.

[4] "*þat was Aelfgiue (on Englisc) Ymma (on Frencisc.)*" AS Chr. 1017 F.

[5] Cf. *Emino*.

[6] Probably also in the pl. n. *Himanbeorgas* ibid. 689 (AD 932), which Searle suggests contains a p. n. *Hima*.

[7] Cf. *Irmenred, Yrmenred* BCS 40, 45, side by side with the non-mutated form *Eormenrices* (gen.) Beow. v. 1201. Cf. also the p. ns *Immin* and *Immine* (Searle) which belong to the same stem.

[8] In this connection I will mention the explanation of the

Engelard, Ingelard: *Engelardus* de Strattone RB p. 276 (AD 1166); *Engelard* de Cigoingny, *Ingelardo* (obl.) de Cygony RC p. 221 (AD 1216), CR II p. 15 (AD 1225); *Engelard*, *Ingelard* (the same person) RCR I pp. 91, 123 (AD 1194); *Engelardi* (gen.) de Atye RH II p. 30 (Edw I.) = *Ingelardus* de Attie Ann. Dunst. p. 68 (AD 1221); *Engelardo*, *Ingelardo* (obl.) Le Marescal Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 404 (AD 1263); *Ingelard'* de Cytromaco Test. Nev. p. 119; *Ingelard* de Warlee CCR III p. 130 (AD 1309); *Ingillard* (Bedf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 95; *Ingelard* (surname, Bedf.) RH II p. 329 (Edw. I), etc.

OG *Engil-*, *Engel(h)ard*, *Ingilard* F 113, 965. The first members are *Engel-* (related to the name of the *Angles*, OE *Engle*)[1] and *Ingel-* (< *Ing-* for which cf. Bruckner p. 270 and the abundant literature given by Schönfeld p. 147). Both elements are absent from native OE p. ns[2] and

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pl. n. *Emmington* given by Alexander, Pl. Ns of Oxfordsh. p. 100 f.: "To judge by the forms (*Amintone, Emintone*) the original form was *a*. Cf. *Ammanbroc*, *-wel* CD V 297—8 Ch. 1151. This is probably a variant of the more usual *Emma (Imma)*, a fem. name as in CD I 9 Ch. 6 (a starred charter and probably forged), which has *Aemma* . . . We must assume two types in the development of the pl. n., *a* and *e*, or else the replacement of *a* by *e* through the influence of the name *Emma*". First of all, the p. n. *Amma* (OG *Ammo*) should be kept altogether distinct from *Emma (Imma)*. The spelling *Aemma* for *Emma* need not surprise us any more than all the other frequent instances of *æ* for *e* in OE charters. The simplest explanation of the pl. n. under notice is probably to assume the first member to be a patronymic of *Amma* > *Amming* : *Emming*, with the same interchange of non-mutated and mutated forms as e. g. in *Hearding* : *Herding*, *Leofing* : *Lefing* etc. On *-in* < *-ing* see Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10 f. — For want of earlier instances it is impossible to determine whether *Emley*, Moorman p. 68, contains *Emma*, as Moorman suggests.

[1] See Wrede, Ostg. p. 144, Schönfeld p. 21 and literature there quoted.

[2] In spite of the *Angeltheof* in the Mercian Pedigree, AS Chr. 755 A, and the statement of Stenton's (Pl. Ns of Berkshire, 1911,

make their first appearance in continental p. ns on the coins of Aethelstan and Anlaf of Northumbria. The compounds that contain both *Engel-* and *Ingel-* have been treated together, because a confusion of the forms has often taken place, whence a distinction from the point of view of the first member would be a merely etymological one, often causing names which signify the same person to be dealt with in different places. The confusion of the elements under notice exists already in OG, but is particularly obvious in OF, where *Ingel-* has regularly become *Engel-*, *Engle-* owing to the transition of *ĭ* > *e*, see Mackel p. 98 f. Another reason for the confusion of these name-elements in England is the ME transition of *eng* > *ing* (see Horn p. 23); cf. *Engelond*, *Ingelond* RH II pp. 592, 597[1].

***Engelbald, Ingelbald**: *Hengebaldus* (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; *Ingelbald* (Dev.) ibid. p. 343.

OG *Engelbald*, *Ingalbald*, *Ingilbald* etc. F 109, 964. For the members see *Engelard* and *Albod(o)*. *Hengebaldus* might also be derived from *Ing(e)bald* (cf. F 960).

Engelbert, **Ingelbert**: *Engilberht*, *Engilbred*, *Ingelber(h)t*, *Ingelberd* mon. (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 102, 123, 148, 185; *Engelbricus* canonicus Episc. (Lond.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 106, 313; *Ingelbertus* (Dors.) ibid. 343; (Walterus filius) *Engelberti* (Kent) ibid. p. 407; *Engelberto* (dat.) (nepoti Theobald Blund) CR I p. 289 (AD 1216); Robertus *Ingelberd* (Beverley) Wickw. Reg. pp. 14, 272 (AD 1280—81); *Ingelbright* de Alman, furbur, FY p. 26 (AD 1331), etc.

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p. 19): "*Engel* was certainly used as an OE personal name, as in the combination *Englunga dene* CS 216 . . . It is therefore possible, since no early forms are given, that *Englefield* Green near Windsor may be derived from this name". It should be observed, however, that the patronymic termination *-ung* rather points to continental origin, whereas the native form is *-ing*. Why not derive *Englefield* < OE **Englafeld* 'the field of the Angles'? — The origin of *Ingelbourne* KCD 460 is uncertain.

[1] For the second member of *Engelard* see **Actard*.

OG *Engil-*, *Engel-*, *Ingelbert* F 110 f., 964, OF *Engilbert*, *Englebert* Langlois p. 191. For the members see *Engelard* and *Adalbert*.

*__Engelburg, Ingelburg__: *Engelbur* LVD p. 58; *Ingelburgis* (c. AD 1100) quoted from Searle; *Ingelburga* vidua RH II p. 657 (Edw. I).

OG *Engelburg*, *Ingelburgis* (Rom.) F 111, 964. The first member as in preceding name; the second member is OHG *burg* (OE *burh*) 'burg'; see Bruckner p. 240.

*__Engeleisa, Ingeleis, Ingelesa__ etc.: *Engeleise* (dat.) Rot. Canc. p. 223; *Engeleys* (relict' Johis Gilb.) RH II p. 689 (Edw. I); *Ingelesam* (acc.) uxorem Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 145 (AD 1208) = *Ingelisa* ibid. p. 146; *Ingeleas* LVD p. 80; *Ingeleis* (fem.) CCR III p. 223 (AD 1313); *Aungeleis* LVD p. 82.

OG *Engilheid* F 113, OF *Engelais*, *Angelais* (fem.) Langlois p. 192. For *Engel-* see preceding name. *Aungel-* is due to the NF transition of *en* > *an*, for which see Kalbow p. 43 and Stimming p. 184 f. For the second member see *Adelais(a)*. In *Ingeleas*, *ea* denotes *e*; cf. Luhmann p. 108. — The surnames *Eng(e)leys*, *Inglays* etc. (e. g. RH II pp. 689, 869, Hist. Pap. p. 66) are in most cases the NF national adj. *engleis* 'English', which is to be seen from such instances as Robertus *le Engleys*, Johes *le Engleys* RH II pp. 156, 635.

Engeler, Ingelarius: *Engeler* (Suss., Som., Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; *Engelerus* (filius Franconis de Boun) RB p. 113; *Engelar̃* de Cantilup̃ (Ess., Suff.) CR I p. 270 (AD 1216); *Engelar* (Salop.) RH II p. 91 (Edw. I); *Aengelarius* clericus LVD p. 99; *Ingelarius* ibid. p. 85.

OG *Engil-*, *Engelher(e)* (Mod. G *Eng(e)ler*) and *Ingelarius* F 114, 965, OF *Engelier* Langlois p. 189 f. For the members see *Engelard* and *Aeðelhere*.

Engelger, Ingelgar: *Engelger'* de Bohun (= *Engelerus* above?) RC p. 236; *Ingelgar* mon. (Anlaf, Eric, Eadmund, Eadred) Keary pp. 236, 237, Grueber pp. 133, 150.

OG *Engil-*, *Engelger* F 112 f. For the members see *Engelard* and *Amelger*.

Engelin, Angelin: *Engeliñ* de Neweton RCR II p. 50 (AD 1199); (Randulf' fil.) *Engeliñ* Pipe Rolls I p. 51; *Angeliñ* (gen.) RLP I p. 27 (AD 1203).

OG *Angelin*, *Englin* (F 109) < *Engel-* (see *Engelard*) + dim. suff. *-in*. For NF *Angel-* see **Engeleisa*. — *Engelm* LVD p. 16 is certainly an error for *Engelin*.

Engelm, see the preceding name.

Enge(l)ram, Inge(l)ram, Ingram: *Engelramo* (dat.) de Lunderfeord KCD 930 (c. AD 1056); *Engelr'* de Munceaus Fabr. Rolls p. 148 (AD 1225); *Engelramo* (obl.) capellano CR II p. 22 (AD 1225); Willelmus *Engelrañ* RC p. 23 (AD 1199); *Engerram* de Sorne (Kent) RCR II p. 240 (AD 1200); *Engeramo* (obl.) de Bouleres CR II p. 135 (AD 1226); *Engeram* de Vilers RB p. 60 (AD 1186—87); *Ingelram* BCS 1102 (AD 963) = *Ingram*, *Ingerame* (dat.) ibid. 1101 (AD 963); *Ingelramnus* (Dors., Som.), *Ingelran* (Linc.), *Ingelrannus* (Suss., Heref., etc.), *Ingelrannus* (filius Widonis de Reinbuedcurt), *Ingelranus* (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343; *Ingrannus* (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.) ibid.; *Ingelram* Flandr̃ (Kent) RCR II p. 227 (AD 1200) = *Ingeram* Flandrensis (Kent) ibid. I p. 246 (AD 1199) = *Engeram'* Flandr̃ (Kent) ibid. II p. 71 (AD 1199); *Ingelrañ* de champanis CR I p. 233 (AD 1215) = *Engelr̃* de Champañ ibid. p. 294 (AD 1216); *Engelram*, *Enguram* de Pratell̃ Rot. Fin. pp. 459, 460 (AD 1207—8) = *Ingram* de Pratell̃ ibid. p. 241 (AD 1205); *Engeramo* (obl.) de Furnet = *Ingeram̃* de Furnet CR II p. 115 (AD 1226); *Ingrami* (gen.) Fraunceys (Derby) FA I p. 299 (AD 1431); *Ingeramum* (acc.) Beneger RM II p. 404 (AD 1306) perhaps = *Ingelramus* Berenger FA V p. 201 (AD 1316); *Hyngelram* de Kurchi Ann. Dunst. p. 48 (AD 1215); *Ingram* (surname) RM I p. 156, Rot. Orig. I p. 289 (Edw. II) etc.

OG *Engelramnus*, *-rammus*, *-rannus* etc. and *Ingelramnus* etc. F 114 f., 965 f., OF *Enguerran*, *Engerran* Langlois p. 190. For the first member see *Engelard*, for the second

member, *Bertram*. *Ing(e)ram* may be < OG *Ing(e)ram*[1] F 962 f. but also < *Ingelram* with loss of *l* or < **Ingerram* < *Ingelram* (cf. *Engerram* and *Engeram*) with assimilation of *lr* > *rr*[2].

Engelric, Ingelric: *Engelricus*, *Engelri* (Hertf., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 106, 107; *Engelric* FNC IV p. 726; *Ingelri(c)* mon. (Aethelstan, Aethelred II) Grueber pp. 112, 238; *Ingelri*, *Ingelricus*[3] (Hertf., Ess., Suff.), *Ingelricus* (de Sancto Paulo Londoniæ), *Ingelricus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 152, 343; is *Igelsrice* LVD p. 58 a scribal error for *Ingelric*?

OG *Engilric*, *Ingelrich* F 116, 966. For the members see *Engelard* and *Alberic*.

***Engenalda, Ingenolda**: *Eugenalda*[4] LVD p. 50; *Ingenolda* (uxor Rogeri) MRS p. 147.

Fem. forms of *Engenold*, *Ingenald* (for which see the following name)? Cf. also *Ingenildis* F 966 and *Iseldis* below.

***Engenold**, *Engenoldus* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313.

Engenold (Bish. of Poitiers) and *Inginald* F 967. *Engen-* and *Ingen-* are (chiefly WF) extensions of the stems occurring in *Engel-* and *Ingel-* (see *Engelard*). When they are found in real p. ns in England, they are certainly of continental origin. The name *Ingengeat* (son of *Angengeat*) in the Northumbrian genealogy (MHB p. 631) cannot of course serve as evidence in this respect, on account of its mythical character[5], and *Ingenþeow* in Widsiþ is no doubt the name of some continental prince. It seems likely that there may have been the same confusion of *Engen-* and *Ingen-* as is noticed in *Engel-* and *Ingel-*.

Engenulf, Ingenulf: *Engenulfus* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313[6]; *Engenulfus* de Greseleia RB p. 265 (AD 1166); *En-*

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[1] For first member see *Engelard* and Björkman, Namenk. p. 48.

[2] The forms *Ingelruus* CMR I p. 147 (AD 1114—30), *Ingelrui* (gen.) ibid. should be read *Ingelrnus* etc. = *Ingelrannus*.

[3] Probably the same person as the above-mentioned *Engelricus*.

[4] = **Engenalda*; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 48.

[5] Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 49.

[6] Cf. **Engenold* above.

genulph CCR I p. 222 (AD 1236); *Ingenulf* (Leic.), *Ingenulfus* (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343; *Ingenulf* CCR III p. 288 (AD 1315).

OG *Engenulf*, *Ingenulf* F 119, 967. For the members see **Engenold* and *Aginulfus*.

Enger(r)am, see *Engelram*.

Engina (uxor Johis de Rundenne) Rot. Orig. II p. 146 (Edw. III).

Engina (AD 1300) Socin p. 53, and *Ingina* F 960, hypochoristic forms of compunds with *Engin-*, *Ingin-*, or dim. derivatives by means of *-īna*.

[**Enisant** (Cambr., Ess.), *Enisan* (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 313; *Enisant* LVD p. 61[1]; *Enisant* Rot. Oblat. pp. 69, 85. Rot. Canc. pp. 67, 71; *Enisand* (fil̃ Widoñ) MRS p. 30; (Ernald fil.) *Enisand* ibid. p. 75; *Enisand* (filius Walteri) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308); *Enisant* Musard ibid. p. 114 (AD 1308); *Enisani* (gen.) ibid. p. 277, etc. is a Breton name (occurring in OF *Enissanz*, the name of a 'seigneur breton' Langlois p. 192) that was introduced into England in the time of Edward the Confessor].

Eoferard, see **Eburhard*.

Eorlebyrht, see **Erlebert*.

Eorlgeoth, see **Erlgyth*.

Erchebrand (Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 313.

OG *Ercambrand* (Rom.) F 460. The first member is **ercan-*, OHG *erchan*, *erchen* 'echt, recht' (cf. Goth. *un-airkns* 'unheilig' and OE *eorcan-stan* 'Edelstein'), also occurring in OE p. ns, see Müller p. 96[2]. On the phonetical value of *ch*

[1] = *Aemisond* ibid. p. 69.

[2] As regards the name *Earcongota*, *Ercongota* etc. Bede, HE L III, C VIII, AS Chr. 639 E (daughter of Ercenberht, King of Kent), the first member is no doubt native, whereas the second member is strange to OE personal nomenclature. *Ercongota* was abbess of Brie in Gaul and it seems likely that the original second member of her name, whatever it was, has been replaced by the continental name-element *-gŏta* (cf. *Theodegotha*, daughter of Theoderic the Great).

before *e* in DB see *Dachelin*; for the loss of *n* see Behrens p. 200, Kalbow p. 125. The second member is the same as in *Aeðelbrand* above.

Erchenbald, Arche(n)bald: *Ercimbalt* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 140; *Erconbold* mon. (Eadgar) Hildebrand p. 12; *Erchenbaldus* (Dev. Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; *Erchembald* le Bretun CCR II p. 431 (AD 1292); *Erkenbaud* (Southampt.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 122 (AD 1198); *Arche(n)baldus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 40; *Herchemboldus* Flemeng (Dev.) RB p. 254 = *Erkenbaldo* (dat.) Flandrensi ibid. p. 259 (AD 1166); *Archebaldus* (Dev.) RB p. 257 (AD 1166); *Archembaud* (dat.) Flemengo, *Archebaldus* le Flemeng RC p. 219 (AD 1215—16), CR II p. 148 (AD 1226); Henricus *Archebald*, tailliour FY p. 177 (AD 1456), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 58.

OG *Ercan-*, *Erken-*, *Erkinbald*, *Arcam-*, *Archembald* (Rom.) F 458; OF *Erchembaut*, *Herchembaut*, *Hercembaut*, *Archambaut* Langlois p. 333 f. For the first member see preceding name. *Arcen-* < *Ercen-* is due to the Rom. transition of *er* > *ar*, for which see *Bertram*. As regards the spelling *ch* in the DB-form above, it probably denotes [*k*]; in the other instances where *ch* occurs, it is rather to be explained from OHG *ch* (*Erchan-*, *Erchen-*) or from *Ercan-* with Centr. F development of *c* (before *a*) > *ch*[1]. For the second member see *Albod(o)*. Although both members are native, the present name has been introduced from the continent; the earliest form, the moneyer's name *Ercimbalt*, is shown to be continental by its final *t* (WF-Rom. for *d*).

Erchenger seu *Erchengerius* pistor (Cambr.), *Erchengerus* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414.

OG *Ercan-*, *Ercenger* etc. F 461. For the first member see *Erchebrand*; the second member is the same as in *Amelger*. Earlier instances are lacking.

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[1] Cf. NE *Archibald* (*aatʃibɔld*).

Ercongota, see p. 75, foot-note 2.

Ereman, see *Hereman.*

Erembald mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 122.

OG *Erin-, Erembald* etc. F 454. The first member might be an extension of OHG *êra* (OE *ār*) 'Ehre'. It is, however, not possible to keep it distinct from *Ern-* with insertion of a svarabhakti-vowel. Cf. *Erneboldus* below.

Erenburgis, see *Erneburg.*

Erewine mon. (Aethelred II) Grueber p. 212; *Erwinne* mon. (Aethelred II, Wigmund) Keary pp. 167, 196.

The first member might be OHG *êra* (see *Erembald*). It seems more likely, however, that the present name is = *Herewine* (cf. OE *Herewine* Searle, and OG *Herwin, Erwin* F 782 f.) or a misstake for *Frewine* = *Freowine.*

Ergemond mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116.

OG *Argimund, Argemund* F 145. The first member is probably to be associated with Old Gallic *argos* 'Held' and Greek ἄρχω[1]. The *e* of the above form is due to the interchange of *ar* and *er*, referred to under *Arnald.* For the second member see *Dagemond.*

Erhart abbas BCS 250 (AD 787)[2]; *Erard* de Valery CCR II p. 147 (AD 1270); magistro *Erardo* Prior. Hexh. II p. 88.

Cf. OG *Erhart, Erard* (Mod. G *Erhardt*) F 772. It is possible that these forms are < *Harihard* as F assumes. Sometimes, however, the first member might also be OHG *êra* 'Ehre' or OHG *êr* (Goth. *aiz*) 'Erz'[3]. As regards the forms found in ME, they may also be < *Airard* (above) with AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e.* Cf. St. *Erard, Airard* CR I pp. 40, 201.

Erild LVD p. 80.

Cf. OG *Erhilt* F 773 (perhaps < *Harihildis*[4] ibid. 772; cf. preceding name). OE **Herehild* is not on record.

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[1] Cf. the abundant literature on this subject collected by Schönfeld p. 25.

[2] A later copy. [3] See Bruckner pp. 103, 222.

[4] For first member see *Aeðelhere,* for second member, **Ainild.*

Erlebald (Wilts.), *Erlebaldus* (Som.), *Herlebaldus*, *Herleboldus* (Hants., Worc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 337.

OG *Erlebald*, *Erlebold*, *Herlebold* F 467. The first member is OS *erl* (OE *eorl*, ON *jarl*) 'vornehmer Mann'; it does not occur in OE p. ns.[1] For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

*__Erlebert__: *Eorlebyrht*, *Aeorlebyrht* mæssepreost BCS 1010 (AD 958)[2].

OG *Erlebert* etc. F 467. For the first member see preceding name, for the second member, *Adalbert*. The above forms are Anglicized.

Erlefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 116; *Elofroed* ibid. is probably intended to be the same name.

OG *Erla-*, *Erlefrid-*, *-fred* F 468. For the members see *Erlebald* and *Amelfrid*. The form *-fred*, particularly common in Merovingian records, is due to the open character of Frankish *ĭ* as well as to the Rom. transition of *ĭ* > *e*; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. §§ 4, 19.

*__Erleua__: *Herleua* Scaftoniensis abbatissa KCD 528 (AD 966).

For the first member see *Erlebald*. Names in *-geba* (OHG *gëba*, OS *gëba*, OE *gifu* 'Gabe') are rare in OG. That the name under notice existed on the continent, is, however, shown by the occurrence of *Herleua*[3] as the name of the mother of William the Conqueror.

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[1] The pl. n. *Arlington* is explained by Roberts (Pl. Ns of Sussex p. 6) as '*Eorlan tūn*'. "*Eorla* is a short form of some personal name beginning with *Eorl* such as *Eorlbeald*, *Eorlwine* etc., for which Searle gives good authority." It is of course possible that the pl. n. under notice contains a short form of some of the p. ns with *Erl-*, introduced from the continent, but it seems more likely that it should be compared to *Herlingaham* (æt *Karltune* and *Herlingaham*) KCD 782 (AD 1046), which rather contains ON **Erling* (see Björkman, Pers. p. 37) as its first member. For *Eorl* BCS 1130 see Björkman, Pers. p. 201, footnote 1.

[2] Other continental p. ns occur in the same charter.

[3] Also called *Arlette* < **Erlette*.

*__Erlgyth__: *Eorlgeoth* LVD p. 80.

The second member is an AN spelling for *-gyth*; cf. Luhmann p. 119 f. The above name is then a hybrid form of continental *Erl-* (see *Erlebald*) and native *-gyð*, for which see Müller p. 122.

*__Erlin__, *Herlinus* del Meisnil (Linc.) RB p. 514 (AD 1210—12).

OG *Erlin* F 466, OF *Herlin* Langlois p. 334, a dim. form of *Erl-*, see *Erlebald*.

*__Erlwald__: (R. filius) *Aerloldi* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370.

OG *Erlold* etc. F 469. For the members see *Erlebald* and *Ansoldus*.

*__Erlwin(e)__: *Urllewine* mon. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 340; *Hærlewine* Thorpe p. 617 (AD 950); *Erluinus* (Hunt.), *Herleuinus* (Warw.) *Herluin* (Som.), *Herluinus* (Norf.), (Radulfus filius) *Herluini* (Norf.) = (R. filius) *Erluini* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 313, 337, 370, 372; *Urleuuine* (Berks.) ibid. p. 261; *Herleuuino* (obl.) presbytero Hist. Ab. II pp. 21, 138 (AD 1087—1135); *Herlewin* LVD p. 15; *Herlwin* (Count of Montreuil) FNC I p. 227; *Herlwin* of Bec ibid. II p. 216; *Herlewinum* (acc.) de Raundes Plac. p. 514 (Edw. III); *Herluino* (dat.) Cadomensi ('of Caen'), made Abbot of Glastonbury by Henry, brother of Will. Rufus, FWR II p. 359; *Urlewyn'* (surname) RH II p. 836 (Edw. I); see further Bardsley pp. 377, 778.

OG *Erlewin*, *Herlewin* etc. F 469 f., OF *Herluïn*, *Arluïn* Langlois p. 334. For the first member see *Erlebald*. The spelling *Url-* is AN; cf. Luhmann p. 98, Schlemilch p. 38[1]. The moneyer's name *Urllewine*, however, cannot be explained as due to AN spelling influence. If not merely an

[1] Williams (Anglia 25, 468 ff.) explains OE *Byrht-*, *-byrht* (< *beorht*) and *Byrn-* (< *Beorn-*) as due to development of *eo* > *y* on account of the preceding voiced labial. Hence, ME *Burn-* might be accounted for as a continuation of OE *Byrn-*, though it seems preferable to explain it as an AN spelling for *Beorn-*.

error for *Erl-*, *Url-* seems in this case most probably to stand for *Arl-*, since *u* and *a* are sometimes confused in the orthography of the coins; on *ar* < *er* see *Bertram*. For the second member see *Amalwin*.

Ermant (surname) RC p. 97 (AD 1200).

Cf. *Hermand*, *Hermant* etc. F 775, Langlois p. 334. F assumes the second member to be related to OHG *mandjan* 'gaudere' or to be a variant of *-man*. It seems likely that *d*, *t* are in most cases excrescent[1]. Hence, *Ermant* is a variant of *Her(e)man* below.

Ermenfrid (Bish. of Sitten, sent to England as Legate) FNC II p. 461; *Ermenfridus* (homo Osberni de Arches) = *Herm'-fridus* Ellis, Intr. II pp. 313, 337; *Hermenfridus* (Warw.) ibid. p. 337.

OG *Ermenfrid* (common) F 476 f., OF *Ermen-*, *Hermenfroi* Langlois p. 335[2]. No earlier instances are on record in England, though both members occur in native p. ns.

Erme(n)gard, **Armegard** etc.: *Ermengarda*, *Ermegard*, *Armegard*, *Aermegard* (uxor Ade Mandevill) RCR I pp. 166, 360, 439, II p. 87 (AD 1199); *Ermegard* (wife of Will. de Punchardun) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 164 (AD 1253); *Ermengard'* (acc.) Fin. II p. 75 = *Ermegardam* (acc.) Ped. Fin. II p. 73 (AD 1197); *Ermegard* Budun, *Hermegarda* de Bydun RH II p. 10 (Edw. I), Test. Nev. p. 262; *Ermingarda* Abbr. Plac. p. 64 (John); *Ermeinard* RC p. 46 (AD 1200) = *Ermengard* CCR III p. 210 (AD 1313); *Hermigerd* CCR III p. 328 (AD 1316); *Armegard* (surname) FA V p. 102 (AD 1401—2).

OG *Ermingard*, *Ermengard*[3] (mostly fem.) F 478, OF *Hermanjart*, *Hermenjart*, *Ermengart*, *Armenjart* (Langlois p. 335 f.) which latter forms also may be < OG *Irmengard* (F ibid.) with OF *i* > *e*. On *ar* < *er* (in *Arme-*) see *Bertram*; for

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[1] Cf. Mackel p. 91, Kalbow pp. 48, 132.

[2] For first member see *Emino*; for second member, *Amelfrid*.

[3] First member as in preceding name; for second member see *Aldeardis*.

the loss of *n* see Meyer-Lübke p. 25 f., Kalbow p. 125, Burghardt p. 106.

***Ermengot**: *Erm'iot* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313.

OG *Ermingaud*, *Ermengaut*[1] F 478 f. *i* (in *-iot*) most probably signifies [*dz*][2], thus representing the Centr. F development of *g* before *au*, for which cf. Schwahn-Behrens § 141, Mackel p. 148 f., Kalbow p. 138. *Erm'iot* might further be = **Ermeniot*, in which case it will be derived from OG **Erminigaut* (cf. *Erminitrudis*, *Herminifrid*, *Irminigart* F 476 f.) with OG or OF loss of *g*[3].

***Ermensent**: *Hermesent* (wife of William Kempe) CCR III pp. 413, 483 (AD 1319, 1326).

OG *Erminisind*, *Ermensend*, *Irminsind* F 482, OF *Hermesent* Langlois p. 336. For the members see *Erme(n)gard* and *Alsent*.

Erme(n)truda: *Ermetruda* uxor (Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 585 (AD 1272); *Ermetruda* uxor (Nott.) ibid. p. 240 (AD 1256); *Ermetruda* Thalebot Cart. Eynsh. I p. 423; *Ermetrue* (dat.) CR II p. 295 (AD 1216—17); *Ermendrua* (Linc.) RH I p. 241 (Edw. I); *Ermentrudis* (Countess of Chester) Hist. Ab. II pp. 68, 69; *Ermetrudis* (uxor Ricardi) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308); *Ermentruth* MRS p. 33; *Erm'thrutha* LVD p. 56, etc.

OG *Ermandrud*, *Ermentrudis*, *Ermetruda*, etc. (common) F 471, 476, OF *Ermentrus*, Langlois p. 193. For the first member see *Erme(n)gard*; the second member is probably the same as OE *-þryþ* (OE *þryþ* 'Stärke, Kraft', ON *-þrúðr*, < **þrûþi-*). Cf. also OHG *trût* 'lieb, geliebt' < **drûda-*[4]. The above forms with *th* have probably been influenced by the native element *-thryth*.

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[1] First member as in preceding name; second member as in *Aingot*.

[2] Cf. Behrens p. 178.

[3] Cf. Schultz p. 197 ff., Kalbow p. 138 f. and literature there quoted.

[4] See Bruckner p. 313. Cf. also ZfdA 43, 20 f.

***Ermenwald**: *Ermenald* (Dev.), *Ermenhaldus* (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; *Ermenold* (Oxf.) CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320).

OG *Ermenald*, *Ermenold*[1] etc. F 483. In *Ermenhaldus*, *h* is merely graphical; see *Ansoldus*. There are no earlier instances of the present name in England.

Ermina uxor (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 116 (Edw. II), CCR III p. 84 (AD 1307); *Sca Ermina* RH II p. 18 (Edw. I).

OG *Ermina* F 474, a hypochoristic form of fem. compounds with *Ermen-*, *Ermin-*, for which see *Emino*.

Erminard (Dev.) FA I p. 320 (AD 1284—86).

OG *Ermen(h)ard*[2] F 480. The above form is certainly continental, since the name is not on record in OE.

Erm'iot, see **Ermengot*.

Ernald, Ernold, see *Arnald*.

Erneboldus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 107.

OG *Ernebold* F 454, explained by F < *êra* (see *Erembald* above). It is, however, most likely a variant of OG *Arinbald* F 138[3]. OE **Earnbeald* is not recorded.

Erneburg: *Erenburgis* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 313; *Eremburge* (gen.) comitisse CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316); *Erneburg* CR II p. 98 (AD 1226); *Erneburga* CPR I p. 116 (AD 1284).

OG *Erinburg*, *Eramburg*, etc. F 456, OF *Erembore* Langlois p. 193. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, **Engelburg*.

Ernegis, **Erneis**, etc.: *Ernegis* (Yorks.), *Erneis* (Cornw.), *Ernegis* (homo Episcopi Baiocensis, Linc.), *Erneis* (Som., Leic.), *Erneis* (homo Comitis Hugonis, Linc.), *Erneisus* (Leic.), *Ernegis* de Burun, Ellis, Intr. II pp. 107, 314, 343, 375; *Aernisius* LVD pp. 100, 107; *Aernis* de Neouill', *Ernis* de

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[1] For first member see *Emino*, for second member, *Ansoldus*.

[2] First member as in preceding name, second member as in **Actard*.

[3] For the etymology of the first member and the interchange of *ar* and *er* see *Arnald*; for second member see *Albod(o)*.

Neuill ibid. p. 101, KC p. 49; Magister *Ernisius* (Glouc.) Rot. Canc. p. 41; *Herneis* AC p. 24 (c. AD 1127); *Hernesio* (obl.) Ariete RC p. 4 (AD 1199); Rogerus *Ernys*, *Herneys* RH II p. 562 (Edw. I); *Herneys*, *Harneys* (surnames) ibid. I p. 475, II pp. 472, 647 (Edw. I), FA V p. 53 (AD 1346); *Hernays* (surname) and NE *Harness*, *Harneis* Bardsley p. 361.

OG *Arn(e)gis* F 139, OF *Erneïs*, *Ernaïs*, *Hernaïs*, *Hernays* Langlois p. 336 f. For the members see *Arnald* and *Ansegis*. On the development *Arnegis* > *Arneïs* see Kalbow p. 139[1]. In *Erneïs* > *Ernis*, the unstressed *e* has been lost because standing in hiatus; cf. Stimming p. 178.

Ernis, see the preceding name.

***Ernost**: *Arnost* of Bec. (Bish. of Rochester) MHB p. 617 = *Hernosto* (dat.) AS Chr. I p. 289; Galfrid *Hernost*, *Hernnest* (Wilts.) RH II pp. 261, 262 (Edw. I).

OG *Ernust*, *Ernost*, *Arnost* (Rom.) F 484 f., a very common name, from OHG *ërnust* (OE *cornost*) 'Kampf'. For the interchange of *er* and *ar* see *Bertram*.

Ertald, see *Hartald*.

Ertein (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 109, 314.

Cf. OG *Herithegan*, *Heridegan*[2] F 779. Or is *Ertein* rather from an unrecorded **Heardþegn*?

Escotland, **Escolland**, see *Scotland*.

Essolta, see *Iseldis*.

Estarcher Ellis, Intr. II p. 109.

OG *Starchari*, *Starcher*[3], etc. F 1361 f. The initial *e* is of course prosthetic and of OF origin; cf. Schwahn-Behrens § 29. The present name may easily have been confused with *Stercher* (for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 132).

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[1] *ei*, *ey* and *ay* are common orthographical variants in ME.

[2] For first member see *Aeðelhere*, for second member, *Deinolt*. Cf. also ON *Herþegn*, Lind 533.

[3] The first member is OHG *starc* (OE *stearc*) 'stark'; for the second member see *Aeðelhere*.

Etard, see *Aitard*.

Etlebrand, see *Aeðelbrand*.

Etram mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Cf. OG *Ediram*, *Ederam* F 450. The etymology of the first member is uncertain; cf. F 448. For the second member see *Bertram*.

Eudo Dapifer (Hertf., Linc., Ess., etc.), *Eudo* (filius Huberti, Hants., Berks., etc.), *Eudo* (Linc., Norf., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 416, II p. 110; *Eudo* LVD pp. 55, 63, 83, 87, 88, 102, 113; *Eudo* abbas (of Ramsey) CMR III p. 177 (AD 1200); *Eudo* (tenant in Wistou) ibid. I p. 362 (AD 1252); *Eudo* Martell Rot. Fin. p. 603 (AD 1216); *Eudo* de Bello Campo Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 364 (AD 1241—42); *Eudo* (fil. *Eudon'* Le Chaunpeneys, Linc.) ibid. II p. 288 (AD 1258); *Eudonem* (acc.) de la Roche (Hunt.) RH I p. 198 (Edw. I); *Eudoni* (dat.) fil. Garini CR I p. 235 (AD 1215), etc.

OG *Eudo*[1] (common) F 490. The diphthong of the stem always appears as *eu* or *eo* (see F), which shows that this name is a stereotyped documentary form. In some cases, a confusion between *Eudo* and *Odo* has taken place: *Eoda* (eorl of Campaine) AS Chr. 1096 E is = *Odo*, Count of Champagne, and *Odda* (Earl of Devonshire) appears as *Eudo* according to FNC II p. 565. This confusion between the two names in England is due to the fact that they cannot well be kept distinct in OF; see Langlois p. 494 f. As regards *Eoda* mon. (Aethelstan II) Grueber p. 199, Hildebrand p. 153, it is impossible to determine whether it is an Anglicized form of OG *Eudo* or a hypochoristic form of compounds with OE *Eod-* (= *Ead-*), such as *Eodbald*, *Eoduald*, etc., for which see Müller p. 13[2].

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[1] Belonging to the name of the *Eudoses*, *Euduses*, for which see Schönfeld p. 81 f. and literature there quoted.

[2] *Eodin* mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 142 is perhaps = *Eod-*, *Eadwine*, as Searle suggests. Cf., however, OG *Eodin* F 490, which may be a dim. form of *Eudo*.

Euerwacer minister KCD 811 (AD 1061); *Eurewacre* (Dev.), *Euroac*[1], *Euuacre* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 110.

OG *Eburacar, Euracrus* etc. F 445 f. For the first member see **Eburhard*. The second member is OHG *wackar* (OE *wacor, wæc(c)er*) 'wach, munter, kräftig'. *w* is regularly lost in OG in this position (see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 69, 4), whence it will have been reintroduced analogically in the above forms. *-wacer* is of late appearance in OE p. ns, and it does not seem unlikely that it has come into use through continental influence. *Ead-, Edwacer* mon. (Aethelred II., Harold I.) Grueber pp. 199, 310, *Edwaker* (Kent) RCR II p. 56 (AD 1199), might be Anglicized forms of OG *Odoacer, Otacar*, etc., but it seems more probable that *eadwacer*, which occurs as an OE appellative with the sense of 'watchman of property, bonorum custos', was called into existence as a p. n. by the influence of the corresponding OG p. n. The forms *Aluuacre, Ailuuacre, Aeluuacre*, Ellis, Intr. II pp. 7, 31, 279, of which no OG equivalents seem to be on record, are probably also to be considered as native formations. Cf. also *Sewaker*, which occurs as a surname RM I p. 119.

Euerwinus (burgensis Norwicensis), *Euruinus* (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

OG *Eburwin, Euruin*, etc. F 447. For the first member see **Eburhard*, for the second member, *Amalwin*.

Eurard, see **Eburhard*.

Eurebold (Dors.), (Odo filius) *Eurebald* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 458, II p. 360.

OG *Eurebald, -bold* (Rom.) F 440. For the members see **Eburhard* and *Albod(o)*.

[**Euretha** LVD p. 48 has nothing to do with OG *Eured* F 51, but is an error for **Enretha* = *Aeinritha* LVD p. 58. For this name see Björkman, Pers. p. 34, Namenk. p. 30.]

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[1] Wrongly explained by Searle as **Eoferheah*.

Euroldus (homo Gozelini filii Lanberti, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

OG *Ebarolt, Euruald, Evrold* etc. F 446. For the members see **Eburhard* and *Ansoldus*.

***Ewald**: *Ewoldus* LVD p. 110; the same p. n. seems to enter into the pl. n. *Ewaldeshor* RCR I p. 378 (AD 1199) and perhaps also into *Euualtone* KCD 363 (AD 933).

Cf. OG *Ewald* F 51. The first member is OHG *êwa* (OS *êo*, OE *ā(w)*) 'Gesetz', which element does not occur in OE p. ns. Allowance must, however, be made for the possibility of deriving the first member from OE *Ead-*, *Ed-* or from OE *Eo-*, occurring e. g. in *Eomær*, *Eomod* and *Eomund* [1].

Ewart aurifaber RM I p. 328.

Cf. OG *Ewart* F 51, *Êoardus*, Bruckner p. 132. For the first member see the preceding name; second member as in *Beluard*. On the ME surname *Ewart*, see Bardsley p. 277 f. and the various explanations given by him.

***Eylewisa**, **Eẏleuysā** (acc.) de Eilesbiſ̄ (Buck.) Ped. Fin. I p. 40 (AD 1195).

For the second member see **Alweis*. The first member might be either *Adal-* or *Agil-* (cf. *Adalwidis* and *Agloidis* F 35, 180, and **Aegelbert* above). It seems most probable, however, that the present form stands for *Heilewisa* (see *Helewis* below) which view is corroborated by the occurrence of *Aylewis* Ped. Fin. I p. 14 = *Helewis* ibid. p. 101 (AD 1196).

[**Ezi** (Hants., Dev., etc.), *Ezi* vicecomes (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 110 is not < OG *Ezius* F 219 but = *Etsi* < OE *Eadsige*: cf. *Etsius*, Ellis, Intr. ibid. Is *Ezui* (Berks.) ibid. a corruption of the same name?]

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[1] For second member see *Ansoldus*.

F.

Faderlin, *Fadrelin* (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 315.

This might perhaps be a dim. form of the name *Fader* occurring in DB and explained by Björkman (Pers. p. 38) as ON. It seems most probable, however, that it is a continental dim. form of OG *Fader, Fater*, since there occur other similar OG formations, such as *Fad(e)riko* and *Vaderikin*, F 491 f. Cf. also MHG *vaterlin*.

Fagenolf CCR II p. 452 (AD 1294).

OG *Faginolf, Fagenulf*, etc. F 494. The first member belongs to OS *fagin, fagan* (OE *fægen*) 'froh'. For the second member see *Aginulfus*.

Falco de Breaute Chr. Petr. p. 8 (AD 1224) = *Fauk* de Breaute RLP p. 85 (AD 1208) = *Falkesius* ibid. p. 92 (AD 1215); *Falco* le Taverner RH I p. 424 (Edw. I.); Ricardus *Falco* Ann. Dunst. p. 134 (AD 1233), etc.

The origin of these and similar forms is not so clear as Bardsley thinks when he writes (p. 281): 'the son of *Fulc*, one of very many forms'. First of all, there occurs a continental name *Falco*, for which see F 495 and Kluge, Et. W. under *Falke*. *Falco* might further sometimes be < *Fulco* owing to the OF development of pretonic *ul* > *ol* > *al* (*Fulcón* > *Falcón*). And lastly, *Falco* may be = *Folco* owing to a confusion between *a* and *o* in ME records; cf. *falke* for *folke*, Luhmann p. 92 f. *Falkesius* (above) is a Latinized form of NF *Falkes*[1] (for *-es* see *Carl*). A dim form of *Falco* is *Faucelinus* CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316).

Farthild LVD p. 53.

OG *Farthilt* (fem.) F 499. The first member is OHG

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[1] Recorded in ME as *Faukes* (e. g. RH II pp. 395, 620, 626, 662). *Faukus* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 113 is perhaps a Latinized form of *Fauk* (< *Falco*). Cf. also *Falcus* in DB (Björkman, Pers. p. 38).

vart (OS *fard*, OE *fyrd*, *ferd*) 'Fahrt', which element is not recorded in OE p. ns. For the second member see **Ainild*.

Fernand, see the following name.

Fer(r)andus Balistarius CR I p. 153 (AD 1213); *Ferrando* (obl.) clerico Rot. Canc. p. 145; *Ferando* (obl.) Gil' de Ispania CR II p. 117 (AD 1226); *Ferrandus* Gir. Cambr. V p. 249 (AD 1170); Ricardi *Ferrand* (merchant of London) Beverley II p. 360; Walterus *Ferrant* (Cant.) RH II p. 422 (Edw. I.); Martinus *Ferraunt* (Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 75 (Edw. I.), etc.

Bardsley (p. 286) explains the surname *Ferrand* 'from some place of the name in Normandy'. It seems pretty certain, however, that this surname should not be kept distinct from the Christian name *Ferrand*. The latter is instanced by F (500) from Rom. source (AD 1089) and is found in OF *Fer(r)ant* Langlois p. 216. It further occurs as the Mod. F surname *Ferrand*, *Ferrant*, and in Italian *Ferrando*, *Ferrante*. That it is a development of *Fernand* (cf. *Fernand* Petri CPR II p. 77 (AD 1308), *Fernandus* F 500 and Spanish and Italian *Fernando*) seems certain, but opinions differ concerning the etymology of the first member. Thus, Meyer-Lübke (p. 28) derives Portuguese *Fredenandus*, *Fridinandus*, *Frenandus* and *Fernandus* from *friþus* 'Friede' [1], but, on account of the existant form *Fradinand*, he suggests that some other name-element may have been confused with it; Schönfeld (p. 86) explains the first member as *ferðu*, ON *fiorðr* 'Fahrwasser'. For the second member see *Elinant.

***Filbert**: (de) *Sčo Philiberto* Abbr. Plac. p. 50; *Filbert* (surname, Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 343; *Fylbard* (Norf.) RH I p. 445 (Edw. I.); Hugone (abl.) *Filleberd* (Buck.) FA I p. 80 (AD 1284—86).

OG *Fili-*, *Filebert* (Mod. G *Filbert*) F 505. The first member is OHG *filu* (OE *feolu*) 'viel'. On *Fili-* see Gröger,

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[1] Cf. also Stark p. 115.

p. 153 f.[1] NE *filbert* 'fruit of hazel' is a short form for '*Philibert nut*' (French *noix de filbert*) named after *St. Philibert*. Cf. NED.

Flanbard, Flambard: Rannulfus *Flanbard*, *Flanbart* (also called Rannulfus *Flamme*) Ellis, Intr. I p. 420, probably identical with Randulph *Passeflambard* of Dunholme AS Chr. 1128 E[2]; Thom' *Flambard* (Wilts.) RH II p. 240 (Edw. I.); Stephanum (acc.) *Flambard* Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 41 (AD 1202); Joh'es *Flambard* de Bonhunt (Ess.) Rot. Orig. II p. 138 (Edw. III.); Robertus *Flamb'* LVD p. 100; the pl. n. *Flamberdeston* (Wilts.) FA V p. 232 (AD 1428).

OG *Flan-*, *Flambert* F 510, OF *Flambart* Langlois p. 217. F's suggestion that the first member might be related to OE *flān* (O Icel. *fleinn*) 'sagitta' is, of course, impossible for phonological reasons. Hildebrand (DB p. 335) translates *Flambard* as 'der Flammende; der das Schwert flammen lässt'. It seems probable, indeed, that this name was associated with OF *flamme* as may be concluded from the above by-form *Flamme* and from a statement in Orderic L VIII (p. 678) according to which the above-mentioned Rannulf obtained the surname *Flambard "flamma quippe ardens"*. But the original form of the first member seems to have been *Flan-*[3], which Bruckner (p. 248) associates with OE *flan* 'præceps, procax', evidently given on Ettmüller's authority from his Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum. For the second member see *Isenbard*.

Flodger mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 171.

OG *Flodger*, *Flotger* F 859. The first member is < *Hlŏd-* (*Hlŭd-*) < **hlŭþa-* < **klŭ* 'hören'[4]. For the Rom. change of initial *hl* > *fl* see Mackel p. 135 and Kalbow p. 145. Bruckner (p. 94) assumes the first member of Lombard *Flodeuertus* and *Flodelandus* to be OS *flôd*, OHG *vluot* 'Flut'

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[1] For second member see *Adalbert*.

[2] Cf. FNC IV p. 521.

[3] Cf. *Flanigisilus*, *Flanegisilus* Waltemath p. 21.

[4] Cf. Schönfeld p. 140, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, Kluge, Et. W. *laut*.

which would be possible as far as the sense is concerned, but seems rather doubtful, since this element is lacking in OE[1] and ON p. ns and recorded in OG only in Rom. sources, where it seems most likely that it is due to the above-mentioned development of *Hlŏd-*; the above Lombard names may be from *frôd* by dissimilation and assimilation; cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 79. For the second member see *Amelger*.

Floheld LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

This name is mentioned by Searle, Intr. p. xxix, among names which he thinks "may be Celtic names or corrupt forms or misreadings". It is, however, certainly = OF *Flohaut* (see Kalbow p. 30) < *Flothildis* ("öfters = *Chlothildis*") F 860. For the first member see *Flodger*. The loss of the dental is analogous to that found in *Mathild* > OF *Maheut* (see *Mahtild* below). For the second member see **Ainild*. *e* for *i* is NF.

Fluold LVD p. 2.

Cf. *Flodoald*, *Flodold*, *Fludual*d F 860. For the members see *Flodger* and *Ansoldus*. *u* may be merely graphical or reflects the by-form *Hlud-*; cf. *Ludowic* and *Lodowic* under **Hludowic* below).

Folbert, *Folberti* (gen.) episcopi (probably a Fleming) BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG *Folcbert*, *Folbert* F 548 f. The first member is OHG *folc* (OE *folc*) 'Volk'. On the loss of *c*, see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 128. For the second member see *Adalbert*. The native equivalent *Folcbeorht* is on record. Cf. *Fulbertus* below.

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[1] *Flodbrhit* (sic!) abbas BCS 1311 is = *Folbriht*, *Foldbriht* abbas ibid. 1269, 1282. That *Flodger* should stand for OE **Foldgar* is not likely especially on account of the form of the second member. But cf. OG *Foldger* F 559, of which the first member is probably the same as OE *folde* 'Erde'. On *Floteman*, Ellis, Intr. II p. 111, see Björkman, Namenk. p. 33. The moneyer's name *Flodwine*, given by Searle from Grueber, is not on record.

Fokeram, see *Fulcran.*

Folceric Niger (merchant of Antwerp) RLP I p. 100 (AD 1213); *Folcrici* (gen.) (merchant of Louvain) CR I p. 646 (AD 1224).

OG *Folcric*[1] F 555 f. The forms *Fulchericus* (Linc.), *Fulchri* (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 115 are perhaps native, though the earliest instance of *Folcric* in England seems to be from the 11th cent. See further Björkman in Festschrift für L. Morsbach (1913) p. 12 f.

Folcran, see *Fulcran.*

***Frambald, Frembald, *Frimbald**: *Franbald* mon. (Alfred) Grueber p. 32; *Frembald, Frembaud* (surname) Rot. Orig. I pp. 91, 96, II p. 200, FA I pp. 25, 39 and Bardsley p. 300; *Frimbaldum* (acc.) RH II p. 186 (Edw. I.).

Cf. OG *Frambold*[2] F 514. *Fram, Framric* and *Froma,* occur as the names of moneyers of Aethelstan, Burgred, and Edw. the Conf. and are probably native, which renders the above derivation uncertain. The spelling *n* for *m* is either a mere error or a reverted spelling, caused by the transition of *n* > *m* before *b*. The ME forms *Frembald* and **Frimbald* are due to a replacing of *Fram-* by *Frem-* (OE *freme* 'good, strenuous'; cf. ME *fremsom* 'useful', *fremful* 'advantageous')[3] and *Frim-*[4] (ME *frym*, NE *frim*, see NED), which substitutions were probably effected in order to avoid association with the ME pejorative adjectives *framward* (< OE *fram-weard* 'averse, froward, perverse') and *fraward* (< *fra* + *weard*) 'froward', both occurring as ME surnames (e. g. CR I p. 516, RH II p. 338; cf. Bardsley p. 299). Is *Franpalt, Frampold, Frambolt* (the surname of a certain Godwine, appearing as a landholder in the time of Edw.

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[1] For the members see **Folbert* and *Alberic.*

[2] First member is OHG *fram* 'vorwärts' (OE *fram* 'valiant, stout'); for the second member see *Albod(o).*

[3] According to Middendorff p. 54, *Frem* occurs as an OE p. n. in the pl. ns *Fremesham* and *Fremesleya.*

[4] Not from *Frith-* as Bardsley (p. 300) suggests.

the Conf., Ellis, Intr. II pp. 112, 113) the same name? In such case *p* would be of HG origin. It will hardly be possible to explain these forms as early instances of dialectal English *frampold* 'fretful, peevish, froward', of which the oldest example in NED is from 1598 and which is assumed to be < *fram* + *polle* 'head' or a LG word[1].

Frampold, see the preceding name.

Franciscus de Boun (Dors.) RH I p. 100 (Edw. I.); *Franciscus* de Ipre (Lond.) ibid. p. 423; *Franciscum* (acc.) de Aldeham (Glouc.) Abbr. Plac. p. 350 (Edw. III.), etc.

This name, popularized throughout the Western Church by *St. Franciscus* of Assisi, is formed from *Franc-* (see the following name) by means of the suff. *-isk*, often used to form adjectival derivatives from the names of countries and people. Cf. Bruckner p. 117, Kluge, N. St. § 210 f. This name is Italian.

Franco, Francus: *Franco* (Dev.), *Franco* quidam (Shrops.), *Franco* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), *Francus* (Norf. Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 318; *Franco* (fil. Savarici) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 451 (AD 1246); *Franco* de Bohun ibid. II p. 19 (AD 1247)[2]; **Francus* (*Franco* nuncio Coñ Flandr̃) CR I p. 22 (AD 1205); *Franco* (abl.) de Brene ibid. II p. 32 (AD 1225); *Franco* le Tyeys ('Teutonicus') Plac. p. 195 (Edw. I.), CCR II p. 75 (AD 1267); *Franc'* do Hermenie LVD p. 65; *Francone* (abl.) de Brusella CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320).

OG *Franco*[3] (common) F 515. For the interchange of *-o* and *-us* see *Helto*. *Fronca* occurs in LV (cf. Müller p. 54), where it may be native. The ME frequency of this name, however, is due to continental influence.

Franpalt, see *Frambald*.

Fredard mon. (Eadmund, Eadred), *Freðard* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 102, 141, 155.

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[1] Cf. Skeat, Et. Dict.

[2] Cf. *Franciscus* de Boun (above).

[3] For the etymology see Schönfeld, p. 91, and literature there quoted.

OG *Friduhart* etc. F 534. For the first member see *Amelfrid*. *Fred-* is due to Rom. influence; see *Erlefred*. For the second member see **Actard*. No native equivalent is found.

Fredebernus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 114.

OG *Fridubern*, *Frethubern*[1] F 530, Carstens p. 20. No earlier instances are on record in OE.

Fredegand, one of the Irish missionaries who followed St. Fursey into Gaul, see DCB.

Cf. *Fredegand* (*Fredegaud*?) F 532. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member cf. Bruckner p. 253.

***Fredegis**: *Freðegis* (Medesh.) AS Chr. 656 E, BCS 22 (AD 664); *Fredghis* (Nott.), *Fredgis* (North., Nott.), *Fregis* (North.)[2] Ellis, Intr. II p. 114; *Freegis* (Gaimar, l'Estorie, MHB p. 824), the same person.

OG *Frithugis*, *Fredegis*[3], etc. F 533 f. Om the loss of *d* in the above forms cf. Kalbow p. 83. In Ellis, Intr. ibid., there occurs a form *Fregist* which seems to designate the same person as *Fregis*. The former name might be due to the carelessness of the scribe or to analogous instances in which an inorganic *t* was added in AN (cf. Menger p. 97), but it seems most likely that the confusion has been caused by the occurrence of a name *Friðugist* etc. BCS 1130 (AD 980), 1266, 1270, 1297 (AD 970), and in AS Chr 993 E, where it is the name of one of the treacherous leaders of the English at Lindsey and is mentioned together with Fræna and Godwine[4]. *Friðugist* has been explained < OG

[1] First member as in preceding name; for second member see *Beringer*.

[2] Probably the same person.

[3] First member as in *Fredard*; for second member see *Ansegis*.

[4] Both *Fræna* and *Friðugist* also occur together in the above-mentioned charters in BCS, whence these names certainly designate the same persons. Another instance of this name is *Fregistus* miles BCS 325 (AD 806). In the same charter ON *Malte* (see Björkman, Pers. p. 94) occurs. Cf. also *Frithegist*, BCS 1266, and *Frithegist* magnus, LVD p. 77, together with many ON p. ns.

Fridegis by Köpke p. 23, but it will be rather difficult to account for the addition of *t* in this name. Cf. Flor. Wig. 993: " . . . duces exercitus, *Frana* videlicet, *Frithogist* et *Godwinus*, quia ex parterno genere Danici fuerunt . . .". Is *Friðugist* the Anglicized form of an unrecorded(?) ON **Friðgestr*? Cf. such compounds as *Goðgestr*, *Heimgestr*, *Wiðgestr*, *Ulfgestr*, *Végestr* and *Þorgestr* in Lind.

***Fredegod**: *Freðegod* diacon (Kent) BCS 1010 (AD 958).

OG *Fredegaud*, *Fridugoz*[1], etc. F 533. This *Freðegod* is no doubt identical with the person of the same name who is mentioned as the author of the Metrical Life of Wilfrid. This work was dedicated to Archbishop *Odo*, and it is to one of *Odo's* charters that the above-mentioned *Freðegod* appears as a witness.

Fredemund mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 117, 118.

OG *Fridemund*, *Fredemund* F 536. For the first member see *Fredard*, for the second member see *Claremunda*. The OE equivalent *Friðumund* is on record. Cf. further Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276, Grueber p. 53.

Frederic of Warren[2] LH p. 295; *Frederico* (obl.) de Lovannia Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 319 (AD 1259); *Frederic'* Swyne RH I p. 314 = *Fretheric* Swym (Mercator de Lubecco) ibid. p. 327; *Frederico* (abl.) Doni (mercatore Senensi) Giff. Reg. p. 106.

OG *Frideric*, *Frederic*[3], etc. F 536. Other ME instances, although rarely recorded, may be < OE *Friðuric*, *Freoðoric*. Cf. Bardsley p. 300.

Freisent, see *Frethesenta*.

Frembald, see **Frambald*.

Fresnotus monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020—38).

Searle is certainly wrong in identifying this name as OE

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[1] First member as in *Fredard*, second member as in *Aingot*. On the WF form *-god* see *Mangod* below.

[2] Perhaps the same person as *Frederic* (Kent) Ellis, Intr. II p. 114. Cf. FNC III p. 647.

[3] For first member see *Fredard*, for second member, *Alberic*.

**Frithunoth*; it occurs among several continental p. ns and is no doubt compounded with the OG name-element *Frēs-* (for the etymology of which see Siebs in Paul's Gr. I p. 1153, Much PBB 17, 14 f. and Franck ibid. p. 55) + *not* (OHG *nôt*, OE *nead*, *nyd* 'Mühe, Gefahr, Kampf')[1], difficult to keep distinct from native OE *-noð* < **nanþa-*. *Frēs-* cannot be proved to have been used in native OE p. ns[2], but occurs in *Frēsan*, *Frȳsan* (the Frisians) in Beow. and Widsiþ, in *Frisa*, *Friesa* and the adj. *Fresisc* in AS Chr. etc. The continental dim. form *Fresechin*, recorded in ME, will be dealt with in a later paper.

Frethesenta (uxor Galfridi Luterel, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 9 (AD 1218); *Frethesanth'* (uxor Willelmi Paynel) Test. Nev. p. 375; *Frethesent*, *Frethesant* Ped. Fin. Ebor. pp. 87, 88 (AD 1203—4); *Frethesent* (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 223 (Edw. I.); *Freisent* Painel (see above) CR I p. 372 (AD 1217); *Frethesancia* de Scoteny Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 311 (AD 1259); *Frethesancia* de la Haye (Hertf.) ibid. p. 304 (AD 1259); *Frethesence* (gen.) RH II p. 374 (Edw. I.), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 302.

OG *Frithesuind*, *Fredesendis* (Rom.), etc. F 538. For the first member see *Fredard*. *Frei-* has arisen through AN loss of the dental. The second member is the same as in *Alsent* above. *-sancia* is < **-santia*, Latinized on the model of *Constantia* and similar names.

***Frimbald**, see **Frambald*.

Frodger: *Frotger*, *Frotier* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 113, 120; *Frogerus* vicecomes[3] (Berks.), *Frogerius* (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 114, 319; *Frogerum* (acc.) archidiaconum (London) RB p. 658 (AD 1154—55).

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[1] Cf. also ZfdA 43, 23 f.

[2] Is the pl. n. *Frischenei* (Linc.) DB, *Fryskency* Plac. p. 445, *Freskeney* RH II p. 669, NE *Friskney*, to be traced back to some such ground-form as **Frisican*, **Fresecan ege*? Cf. *Friskenhem* (< *Frisico*) F 525.

[3] "seemingly the Norman successor of Godric", FNC IV p. 37.

OG *Frodger*, *Frotger*, *Froger*[1] F 542. The *t* in *Frotier* points to continental influence as does also the form *-ier*, which is due to a (probably Rom.) fronting of *g*. The loss of *d* may have taken place already in OG through assimilation. Cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4. An OE equivalent is perhaps *Frodgar* mon. (Eadwig) Grueber p. 158.

Frodo (frater Abbatis)[2] (Ess., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II pp. 114, 318.

OG *Frodo* F 541, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Frod-*, see the preceding name. *Frodan* (gen.), Beow. v. 2025, is a king of the Heathobards. Other instances are in most cases native. Cf. Müller p. 42, Binz p. 174.

Froelina LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

OG **Frodelina*, *Frotlina* F 541, a dim. derivative from *Frod-* (see *Frodger*). On Rom. soil, this form might also be derived from OG *Hrodelina*[3] F 887, with a transition of initial *hr* > *fr* analogous to that of *hl* > *fl*, referred to above under *Flodger*. Cf. Kalbow p. 145.

Froger, see **Frodger*.

[**Frohelmus** episcopus BCS 703 (AD 934?).

Cf. OG *Frohelm*[4] F 519. This derivation is extremely uncertain, since, in another copy of the same charter, BCS 1344, the same person is called *Trohelmus*. Searle, in his AS Bish., Kings and Nobles, mentions him among bishops of unknown sees, and in his Onomasticon he suggests that he might be indentical with *Tidhelm*, Bish. of Hereford 930—c. 938].

Fromund: *Frumond* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.)

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[1] First member is OHG *frôd* (OE *frōd*) 'prudens' or a Rom. form of *Hrod-*, see *Froelina*. In *Froger*, first member might of course also be OHG *frô* 'froh' or *frô* (Goth. *frauja*) 'Herr'. For second member see *Amelger*.

[2] Brother of *Baldwin* (abbot of Edmundsbury), '*genere gallus*'.

[3] Belonging to **hrōþ-* (Goth. *hrōþeigs* 'ruhmreich'), found in OG p. ns as *Hrōd-*, in OE as *Hroð-* and *Hrocð-*.

[4] First member is *Fro-*, for which see Frodger; second member as in **Anshelm*.

Ellis, intr. II p. 319; *Fromundo* LVD p. 137 (Obit.)[1]; *Fromund* de Poctif (Suss.) RCR I p. 97 (AD 1194); *Fromund* de Tarente (Worc.) ibid. II p. 71 (AD 1199); *Fromundus* (abbas Theukesburiensis) Ann. Wig. p. 380 (AD 1162); *Fromundum* (acc.) clericum RCR I p. 330 (AD 1199); *Fromund* le Brun CPR I p. 72 (AD 1283); *Fromund*, *Fromunt*, *Fromont* (surnames) RB p. 1077, Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 261, 556, Fines I p. 32, RH II p. 549, FA V p. 165, etc.

OG *Fromund* F 520, OF *Fromont* Langlois p. 242 f. The first member is OHG *frô* (or *frôd*), for which see *Frodger*. The OF form may also be derived from OG *Hrodmund* F 911 f.; cf. *Froelina* above and Kalbow p. 129. For the second member see *Dagemond*. In *Frumond* (above) *u* and *o* have perhaps simply changed places by mistake; *u* may also be explained after Stimming p. 190. ON *Frómundr* (Lind 291) is a German loan.

Fukeram, see *Fulcran*.

Fulbertus (Norf.), *Fulbertus* (Kent, Bedf., Leic.)[2], *Fulbertus* (quidam sacerdos, Norf.), *Fulbertus* (homo Gisleberti de Gand) (Linc.), *Fulbric* (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 114, 319; *Fulbert* the Tanner (a Norman) FNC II pp. 177, 178; *Fulbertus* archidiaconus LVD p. 14.

OG *Fulbert* (common) < *Fulcbert*[3] F 548 f. It is probable that OE *Folcbeorht* as well as *Foldbriht* have been confused with the continental forms.

Fulcald, *Fulcaldus* de Archiaco CPR I p. 419 (AD 1291); *Fulcold* (homo Abbatis de Ely) Inq. Eliens. p. 497; *Fulcauz* LVD p. 53.

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[1] "Et pro quattor monachis qui venerunt ad Sanctum Cuthbertum cum abbate Lamberto, hoc est, Mauricio, Goffrido, *Fromundo* et Herueo."

[2] Cf. Ellis, ibid. foot-note 1.

[3] First member is OHG *folc*, see *Folcbert*; for the by-form *Fulc-* see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, 5, for the loss of *c*, ibid. § 128. It is further possible that *Ful-*, *Fol-* sometimes are < **fulla-* (OHG *fol*, OE *full*) 'voll'. Second member as in *Adalbert*.

OG *Fulcwald*, *Fulcaldus*, etc. F 557. For the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, *Ansoldus*. *Fulcauz* is < *Fulcaut* (cf. OF *Foucaut* Langlois p. 226) + NF nom. *s*.

Fulcard (mercator, Frisland) CR I pp. 610, 634 (AD 1224).

OG *Fulc(h)ard*[1] F 551. It cannot be determined whether other instances of *Fulcard* in England are continental or from native *Folcheard*[2].

Fulcauz, see *Fulcald*.

Fulco, Folco de Lusoriis (Clam. Ebor.), *Fulco* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere), *Fulco* (homo Willielmi de Perci), *Fulco* (homo Osberni de Arches), *Fulco* (homo Rogerii de Busli), *Fulco* (homo Gisleberti Tison) Ellis, Intr. I p. 448, II p. 320; *Folco* (Remorum archiepiscopus) BCS 555 (AD 855); *Fulco* (monachus Croylandiæ) KCD 795 (AD 1051); *Fulco*, *Folco* LVD pp. 8, 13, 19, 23, 45, 47, 50, 52, 56, 85, 88, 100, 111, 141; *Fulc* (Henry II's chamberlain of Anjou) Cal. Doc. p. 220; *Fulco* de Baiocis ('Bayeux') RB p. 586 (AD 1211—12); *Fulco* de Cantelupo (Linc.) Rot. Obl. p. 12 (AD 1199); *Fulco* Bainard (Norf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 359, 458 (AD 1206); *Fulconis* (gen.) le Franc CR I p. 496 (AD 1222), etc.

OG *Fulco*, *Folco* F 547 f., hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Fulc-*, *Folc-*, for which see *Fulbertus*. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 41.

Fulcoius, *Fulcui* (Suss.), *Fulcuius* (Cambr.), *Fulcvivs* (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 115, 320.

OG *Folcwig*, *Fulcowicus*, etc. F 558, OF *Folcui*, Kalbow p. 63. For the first member see *Fulbertus*; the second member is probably OHG *wîg* (OE *wîg*) 'Kampf'. OE **Folcwig* is not on record.

***Fulcrad**: *Fulrad* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; *Ful-*

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[1] First member as in preceding name, second member as in **Actard*.

[2] *Furcardus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 115 is = *Fulcardus*, probably owing to assimilation of *l* > *r*.

cheredus[1] ("abbot of Earl Roger's house at Shrewsbury, once a monk of Earl Roger's house at Seez") FWR II p. 318.

OG *Fulcrad*, *Fulrad* (common) F 554 f., OF *Fouqueret* Langlois p. 230. For the members see *Fulbertus* and *Adradus*. It cannot be determined whether *Fulcred*, *Fulcheredus* Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II p. 320 is native (< OE *Folcred*, which seems to have existed) or continental, although the latter alternative is most likely.

Fulcran: *Folcran*, *Folcheran* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 317, 320; *Folcrann'* de Watercroft (Suff.) RH II p. 183 (Edw. I.); *Fokeram* (South.) RB p. 663 (AD 1155—56); *Focheram* (Yorks.) Pipe Roll I p. 30; Ricardus *Fukeram*, *Fokeram* (Berks.) FA I pp. 50, 52 (AD 1316); William *Fukerand* CCR I p. 475 (AD 1257); *Fukeram* (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 163 (AD 1253), etc.

OG *Fulcramnus*, *Fulcran(n)us*, *Folcram* F 552, OF *Fouqueran(t)*, *Foukerant* Langlois p. 230. For the members see *Fulbertus* and *Bertram*. The loss of *l* in the above forms is AN; cf. Menger p. 87, Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 149 f.

G.

Gacelin, Gascelin, see *Wazelinus*.

Gail(l)ard, Gal(l)ard: *Gaillard* (of Bordeaux) CR I p. 623 (AD 1224); *Gaillard* ibid. II p. 55 (AD 1225); *Gailardo* (obl.) Pete (de Pete) RM II p. LXXI; *Gaylardo* (dat.) de Landa RLP p. 63 (AD 1206); Osberto (obl.) *Gaillard* RC p. 212 (AD 1215); Robino (obl.) *Gaylard* (of Bordeaux) CR II p. 114 (AD 1226); Alexander *Galyard* mercator FY p. 139 (AD 1426); Joh'es *Galard* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 223 (AD 1232); Will' *Gallard* RH II p. 689 (Edw. I.); the pl. n. *Gaillardeby* CR II p. 86 (AD 1225); etc.

[1] = *Fulcherodo* (dat.) abbati CCR II p. 82 (AD 1267).

Bardsley's explanation (p. 305) of the NE surname *Gallard, Gaylard* as an original nickname, 'the gaillard, the gay, the joyous, the bold' is certainly acceptable also as far as the ME surnames are concerned. But in those instances where this name occurs as a Christian name it is < OF *Gaillart* < OG **Gailhard* (cf. *Keilhart* F 568). The first member is probably OHG *geil* (OE *gāl*) 'von wilder Kraft, lustig, fröhlich' [1]; for the second member see **Actard*. *Galard* may be due to a reduction of pretonic *ai* > *a* but also to a NF development of OG *Walhart* (F 1517).

Gaillarda Blome, *Gaylarde* (uxor Arnaldi de Puribus), see Bardsley p. 306.

A fem. form of preceding name.

Gaimar: Geoffrey *Gaimar*, the well-known issuer of the AN version of the History of the British Kings by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

OG *Weimar, Waimer* F 1496 [2] and the Rom. form *Guaimar* ibid., which latter name, like *Gaimar*, shows NF development of OG *w* > *g(u)*, for which see Kalbow p. 117. The first member probably belongs to Goth. *wai* (OE *wā*) 'weh'; cf. Bruckner p. 101. For the second member see *Ainmer*.

Galchelinus, see *Walchelin*.

Galfrid, see *Gaufrid*.

Galicerus, see *Walger*.

Galland, see *Weland*.

Galterus, see *Walter*.

Garard, see *Gerard*.

Garbo(l)d, see *Gerbodo*.

Garengerus, see *Warenger*.

Garinus, see *Warinus*.

Garsanta, see *Gersent*.

Gaubert, see *Walbertus*.

Gaudin, see *Waldin*.

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[1] Cf. also ZfdA 42, 64, Kalbow p. 123 and Cipriani p. 67.

[2] And Lombard *Waimârius*, Bruckner p. 101.

Gaufrid, Galfrid: *Gaufridus* (Kent, Buck., etc.), *Gaufridus* (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; *Gaufridus* LVD pp. 7, 8, 16, 17, 44, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 69, 72, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 92, etc.; *Galfrides* (probably for *Galfridus*) de Hedes KCD 930; *Galfridus* LVD pp. 65, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 108, 152; *Galfr'* Le Flemeng Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 158 (AD 1227); *Gaufr'* Flandr' CR I p. 250 (AD 1216); *Galfr'* de Luvein (Lond.) Rot. Obl. p. 24 (AD 1199) = *Godefr'* de Lovain ibid. p. 37 = *Godefridus* de Loveyn RB p. 133 (AD 1199—1200); *Galfridus* de Lovayn, webster, FY p. 56 (AD 1361) etc.[1]

The above forms may be derived from various OG etyma, viz. *Gaufrid*[2] F 623, *Gautfred*[3] F 616, with loss of the dental, but chiefly *Waldfrid, Walfrid*[4] F 1503 with NF *g* for OG *w* and vocalization of *l* > *u*[5]; cf. Kalbow p. 109, Waltemath p. 51. A confusion between the above forms and *God(e)frid* (see below) has sometimes taken place, and the same is also the case in continental records[6]. This confusion is probably partly due to the form *Goffridus* (e. g. CMR I p. 141, LVD p. 137), which may be derived from *Gaufrid* or *Gautfred* (with Rom. *au* > *o*) as well as from *Godfrid*[7]. Finally, I have noticed one instance where *Gaufrid* and *Gosfrid* (see below) have been confused[8]. The

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[1] *Gaufricus* LVD p. 63 is a misreading for *Gaufrid'*.

[2] First member might be *Gau-*, as F suggests. Cf., however, Meyer-Lübke p. 90 f.; for second member see *Amelfrid*.

[3] For *Gaut-* see *Aingot*.

[4] See **Walfrid* below.

[5] *Galfridus, -fredus* are stereotyped Latin forms.

[6] Cf. *Gaufrid*, Bish. of Cambrai, also called *Godefrid*.

[7] *Iofreið* LVD p. 53 is identical with OF *Jofroi* (Langlois p. 378) < *Gaufrid*, not from *Godfrid*, since *g* has been preserved before *o*. Cf. Mackel p. 147 f. *-freið* is the AN form of *-frĭdus*, showing a development analogous to that of AN *feið* < Latin *fĭdem*. Cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 90 f.

[8] *Gaufrido* (filio Haimonis) = *Goisfridus* (filius Haimonis) Hist. Ab. II pp. 32, 60.

NE name *Geoffrey* [*dʒefrĭ*] cannot originally be from German *Gottfried*, as Oxf. Dict. states, since we are then at a loss to explain both the initial [*dʒ*] and the [*e*] of the modern pronunciation, but is < ME *Geffrey*[1] < OF *Geuf(f)roi*, *Jeufroi* (by-forms of *Jof(f)roi*, see Langlois p. 378 f.) < OG **Gewifrid* (cf. *Gewibald*, *Gewidrud*, *Gewelip*, *Gewerich*, etc. F 622 f., where the first member is OHG *gęwi* 'Gau')[2], or perhaps rather < OF *Jefroi*, *Gefreid* (Langlois ibid.) < OG *Gerfrid* (see *Gerferð* below)[3], or < *Gidfrid*, the first member of which Bruckner (p. 256) assumes to be related to OE *gid* 'Spruch'. Cf. also *Gif(f)rid* F 633[4]. The spelling *Geoffrey*, might be explained in the same way as Jespersen (p. 79) explains *jeopardy* (< *jeu parti*), *leopard* (< *leupard*), etc., or as a blending of *Geffrey* and *Goffrey* (*Joffrey*) or by the influence of OF *Geof(f)roi* (= *Jof(f)roi*).

Gausbert, see *Gosbert.*

Gauselin, see *Gozelin.*

Gausfrid, see *Gosfrid.*

Geffrei, see *Gaufrid.*

Gelram (canon of the Church of St. Paul, Lond.) CCR I p. 200 (AD 1235); *Gelranñ* (gen.) Rot. Canc. p. 139.

The second member (for which see *Bertram*) points to continental origin. Stark (p. 40) explains the first member of *Geltrudis* < *Gil-* < *Gisil-*, but the etymon is probably **Gild-trudis*. There is, as far as I know, no instance that supports the assumption of a development *Gil-* (< *Gisil-*) > *Gel-*. It seems most likely that the first member is <

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[1] Occurring in ME as *Gef(f)rey*, *Geffrei*, *Geffray* e. g. Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 486 (AD 1269), RH II pp. 547, 651, 659, Cust. p. 73, etc.

[2] See Kluge, Et. W., Franck. Afr. Gr. § 36, 2, Gröger p. 129 f. and Kalbow p. 109.

[3] Cf. OF *Gerfroi* = *Gefroi* (beside other variants) Langlois p. 379.

[4] This form seems to occur in *Giffredo* (obl.) RM II p. 362 and Sire *Giffreus* Heþe de la Croix BCS 34. Cf. *Galfrides* de Hedes above. On the possibility of deriving *Giffred* < OG **Gebafrid* see *Giffard* below.

**Gail-* (see *Gail(l)ard*) with *e* owing to the AN monophthongization of *ai*; see *Airard* above. Hence, the above forms will be identical with OG *Gaeleramnus* F 568.

Genoveva (filia Thome de Sumery, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 452 (AD 1267).

Cf. *Genovefa* F 628, OF *Genevieve*, Langlois p. 273. Celtic? Cf. Yonge p. 269 f.

Gerald, Girald: *Geruald* LV 119, 163, 180, 204, 302, 353, 370; *Geraldus*, *Geroldus* (Suff., Heref.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 317, 322; (Roberti filii) *Geroldi* (Som.) Exon. DB 590; *Gerold* de Tantune Cal. Doc. pp. 127, 129 (AD 1067); *Geroldus*, *Geraldus* LVD pp. 8, 53, 55, 137; *Gerald* of Wilton FNC V p. 806; *Gerald* of Windsor (a Norman settler at Pembroke) ibid. III p. 210; *Geroldus* (monachus Wintoniæ) Ann. Wig. p. 373 (AD 1084); *Giroldus* capellanus (Dev.), *Giroldus* mareschalcus [1] (Suff.), *Giraldus*, Raimundus (Ess.), *Giroldus* (et Ihos Franci duo, Ess.); *Giraldus* (presbyter de Wiltone) (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 424, II pp. 118, 317, 324; *Giraldus* (miles et monachus) LVD (Obit.) p. 140, etc.

OG *Gerwald*, *Gerald*, *Gerold*, *Girald*, *Girold* F 585 f. The first member is *Gêr-* < **gaiza-* for which see *Amelger* [2]. *Gir-* is due to the fronted *g*, which has changed the pretonic *e* > *i* on Rom. soil [3], and does certainly not as rule belong to MHG *giren* 'begehren' or to *gīr* in MHG *gīrvalke* as Bruckner (p. 74) suggests. Hellwig (p. 24) has explained the first member of *Geruald* (in LV) as OE *gêr* 'year', and Müller (p. 109) suggests OE *gêr* 'year' or connection with OHG *ger* 'cupidus'. The same explanation he also offers for the first member of *Gerbrandus*, *Gerburg*, *Gerardus* and *Gersand*. It is likely that these explanations are wrong. With the exception of the three names *Geruald*, *Gerferð* and *Geruini* in LV, names compounded with *Ger-* do not appear in England till the end of the 10th cent., and there

[1] Cf. FNC III p. 379.

[2] For second member see *Ansoldus*.

[3] See Mackel p. 105, Kalbow p. 95, Meyer-Lübke p. 30.

can be no doubt that these were introduced from the continent[1]. The appearance of the above-mentioned names in LV confirms the view held under **Aegelbert* that OG p. ns are to be found there. — In this connection I wish to correct a mistake that is often to be found, especially in works on English pl. ns, e. g. when Moorman says (p. 76) that *Gær-* enters into the composition of OE *Gærfrith*, *Gærhelm*, *Gærwine*. It should be observed that the OE form is *Gār-* (< **gaiza-*) and that *Gær-* is a mere invention of Searle's. The form *Gærwine*, adduced by Moorman, is *Geruini* in LV, *Gærweald* (in Searle) is the form *Geruald*, discussed above, etc. When *Gær-* happens to occur it is due to the confusion between *a*, *æ* and *e*, not seldom found in later, especially Latin, records.

Geram de Curzun Rot. Fin. p. 346 (AD 1206), Fines I p. 119; *Geram* de Vernun CR I p. 255 (AD 1216); *G'rani* (gen.) ibid. p. 158 (AD 1213—14); Will. *Geran* (Salop.) RCR I p. 136 (AD 1194).

OG *Ger(r)am*, *Gerrannus*, etc. F 580 f., Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126. For the first member see the preceding name[2], for the second member, *Bertram*. — Of different origin is *Gerome*[3] (de Durdraght) FY p. 53 (AD 1358), which is < *Hieronymus*[4].

Gerard, Girard: *Gerardo* (abl.) priore Croylandiæ KCD 794 (AD 1038—51); *Gerardus* (Som., Leic., etc.), *Gerardus* vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; *Gerard* (Archb. of York) Cal. Doc. p. 442; *Gerard(us)* LVD pp. 7, 8, 14, 15, 46, 51, 53, 57, 62, 63, 83, 94, 100, 105, 145; *Gerardum* (acc.) de Flandr' CR I p. 185 (AD 1215); *Gerardus* (presbyter cardinalis) Hist. Ab. II p. 199; *Gerard* de Barcot KC p. 53; *Girardus* (Som., Dev., Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 424; *Girardus* (Glouc.),

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[1] Or from Scandinavia; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 36 f.

[2] On the use of single and double consonants, see Burghardt p. 97 f.

[3] NE *Jerome*.

[4] For *Hie-* > *Je-* see Nyrop, Gr. § 469.

Girardus (Suss., Surr., Wilts., etc.), *Girardus* camerarius (Glouc.), *Girardus* (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), *Girardus* (homo Raynerii de Brimou, Linc.), *Girardus* (homo Rogeri Pictavensis Linc.) ibid. II pp. 118, 324; *Girard* (arceb. of Eoforwic)[1] AS Chr. 1103 E, 1108 E; *Girardus* præpositus BB p. 34; *Girardus* Lotherensis Inq. Eliens. p. 497; *Girard* de Limosie (Ess.) RB p. 29 (AD 1161—62); *Gyrard* (surname) RH I p. 86 (Edw. I.); see further Bardsley p. 309; Italian dim. forms are *Gerardino* (dat.) Nealy de Florencia Rot. Orig. I p. 161 (Edw. II.) and *Gerardini* (gen.) (merchant of Lucca) Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 331.

OG *Gerard*, *Girard*[2] F 578 f, OF *Gerart*, *Girart*, Langlois p. 279 f. The surname *Garardson* (Jacobus *Garardson*, berebrewer, evidently a Fleming) FY p. 135 (AD 1423) might have been influenced by the native name-element *Gar-*[3], and the same might be the case with NE *Garrard* and *Jarrard* (the latter form then being a contamination of *Gar-* and *Ger-* [*dʒ*]). But in consideration of the circumstance that native *Gar-* is comparatively rare in ME it is possible that *Gar(r)ard* is to be derived from OG *Garard* (F 603), where the first member is OHG *garo* (OE *gearo*) 'bereit, gerüstet'[4]. The interchange of *G* and *J* is OF. It may further have been influenced by such names as *Gerbald*, *Gerbodo*, *Gervas*, etc., in which the shortened stem-vowel (in originally pretonic position) before *r* + consonant regularly may have developed into *a* in AN or in late ME. The discrepancy of the initial letters *G* and *J* might then be explained from a double pronunciation of *Ger-*, owing to different development in NF (see Kalbow p. 139) or to the occurrence in England of OG and ON *Ger-* [*g*] by the side of OF *Ger-* [*dʒ*].

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[1] Cf. above.

[2] For the members see *Gerald* and **Actard*.

[3] An OE equivalent is probably the moneyer's name *Gareard*, Grueber pp. 91, 95, 111.

[4] Cf. *Berenger* (above).

Gerbald: *Gerebald* (Hunt.) Rot. Obl. p. 159 (AD 1201); *Gerboldi* (gen.) RC p. 131 (AD 1204); *Gerbald* le Eschald (Linc.) RH I pp. 299, 300 (Edw. I.); *Gerbold* CCR I p. 463 (AD 1257); *Gerebaud* (surname) RH II p. 665.

OG *Gerbald, -bold*[1] F 575. OE **Garbeald* is not on record. The surname *Gorebald* RH I p. 474 might represent a ME continuation of an unrecorded OE etymon, but is more probably an error for *Gerebald*. *Garbout* (RB p. 610, AD 1211—12) and the surname *Garbolde* (RH I p. 447) are probably also to be looked upon as variants of *Gerbold*. Cf. the preceding name. On the confusion between *Gerbold* and *Gerbod* see *Gerbodo*.

Gerberg(i)a: *Gerberg(i)a* uxor RH I p. 535 (Edw. I.); (pro eadem) *Gerberg̃* CR I p. 235 (AD 1215).

OG *Gerberg(i)a*[2] F 576, OF *Gerberge* Kalbow p. 73. As regards the ME surname *Gerberg(e)* (e. g. Margaret' *Gereberegh* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 537, Ric's *Jerberg'* RH I p. 271, Will's *Gerberg'*, *Gerberge*, *Gerberye*, ibid. pp. 473, 525, 533), it is probably an original pl. n. as may be presumed from the instance Will' de *Gerberge* RH I p. 467. Cf. also *Gereburc* Wapentac Pipe Roll IV p. 20.

Gerbert, Girbert: *Gerbertus*, *Gereberct*, *Girbertus* Ellis, Intr. I p. 424, LVD pp. 6, 52, 62, 64; *Gerebertus* Flandrensis SCR II p. 159 (AD 1200); *Gerebertus* de Stok (Derb.) Fin. II p. 25; *Jerebert'* de Staffard Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 288 (AD 1258); *Gerbert* (surname) CMR II p. 61 (AD 1100—13); *Gerebert* (surname) RCR II p. 269 (AD 1200); *Gerberd* (surname) FA V p. 201 (AD 1316); *Giriberd* (surname) RH II p. 269 (Edw. I.); common.

OG *Gerbert, Girbert*[3] F 576, OF *Gerbert, Girbert* Langlois p. 285 f. The OE equivalent *Garberct* occurs in LV.

Gerbodo (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; (Comes Cistrensis)

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[1] For the members see *Gerald* and *Albod(o)*.

[2] First member as in the preceding name; for *-berg(i)a* see *Alberia*.

[3] For *Ger-*, *Gir-* see *Gerald*; for second member see *Adalbert*.

Gerbodo[1] (frater Gondradæ Comitissæ) Lib. Hyde p. 296; *Gerbodo* RC p. 215 (AD 1215).

OG *Gerbodo*[2] F 577. The common forms *Ger(e)bode*, *Gerbod*, *Gerbot* (e. g. *Gerbode* LVD p. 56, *Gerbodo* (dat.) de Escaud CCR I p. 258, *Gerebode* (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 345, Fines II p. 5; *Gerbod* RCR I p. 209; *Gerbodi* (gen., surname) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 24, *Gerbot* (surname) RH II p. 66) are no doubt in most cases to be explained from *Gerbold*, see *Albod(o)* above. The same interchange of *-bod(e)* and *-bold* is seen in *Garbod(e)* (surname) RH I pp. 446, 447 = *Garbolde* (surname) ibid. p. 447; see *Gerbald*. Cf. also Willelmus *Garbot* wever, FY p. 130 (AD 1420 and Johannes *Garbot*, armourer, ibid. p. 100 (AD 1397).

Gerbrandus (Roscyldæ parochiæ Danorum gentis)[3] KCD 734 (AD 1022).

OG *Gerbrand*[4] F 577. No ON equivalent is on record. Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 47, Lind 312.

Gerbrun LVD p. 78.

OG *Gerbrun* (fem.) F 577. For the first member see *Gerald*; the second member is probably OHG *brunnia* (Goth. *brunjo*, OE *byrne*) rather than *brūn* 'braun'.

Gerburg (fem.) serf of Wynflæd KCD 1290 (AD 995); *Gereburg̃* (gen.) CR II p. 86 (AD 1225).

OG *Gerburg* (fem.) F 577. For the elements, see *Gerald* and **Engelburg*.

Gerelmus (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; *Gerelm* Cal. Doc. pp. 23, 456 (AD 1060); *Gerelmi* (gen.) Ped. Fin. I p. 71 (AD 1195); *Geraumes* (acc.) de Castreke RLP p. 126 (AD 1215); *Giralmus* de Vernone CCR III p. 229 (AD 1313).

OG *Ger(h)elm* F 580, OF *Gerelme*, *Geraume*, *Giraume* Langlois p. 274. Cf. *Gerald* and **Anshelm*.

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[1] One of the Conqueror's companions, see FNC III pp. 312, 648.

[2] Cf. *Gerald* and *Albod(o)*.

[3] One of the three ecclesiastics sent by King Cnut into Denmark.

[4] Cf. *Gerald* and *Aeðelbrand*.

Gerferð LV 478.

OG *Gerfrid*, *-fred* F 578. Cf. *Gerald* and *Amelfrid*. On the form *-ferð*, see Müller p. 119, Williams p. 439.

Gerin, **Girin**: *Gerinus* (Warw.), *Gerinus* (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 423, II p. 116; *Gerinus* RM II p. 396; *Gerinum* (acc.) de Leia Fines I p. 38; *Gerin* RB p. 199 = *Gervasius*, ibid. foot-note; *Gerynny* (gen.) CR I p. 161 (AD 1214); *Gerin'* le Lingedrap (Lond.) RH I p. 424 (Edw. I.); *Geryn* (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 130 (Edw. I.) Plac. p. 353; *Geryng* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 231, FA V p. 259 etc., where *g* is probably excrescent; but cf. the pl. n. *Geringe* RH II p. 371; *Girinus* Wint. DB pp. 544, 545, 560.

OG *Gerin* F 574, OF *Gerin*, *Jerin* Langlois p. 274 f. The above instances are probably NF and to be explained with Kalbow (p. 42) < *Ger-*[1] + dim. *īn*. It is, moreover, possible that *Gerin* may in some cases stand for *Guerin* (< OG *Werin*, see *Warin*).

Gerling (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 116.

Cf. *Gerling* Pott p. 149. The above form might be a patronymic of *Gero* or *Gerlo* (below)[2]. But its relation to *Guerlinus* (see **Werlin* below) is not clear.

Gerlo, **Jerlo** de Cokerington CCR III p. 262 (AD 1314).

OG *Gerlo* (< *Gerilo*) F 573, Stark p. 65, a dim. form of *Gero* below.

Germund: instances in Björkman, Namenk. p. 36 and Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns p. 50. This name is theoretically either ON or OG; cf. *Germund* F 583. A continental fem. form of the same name is *Germunde* (gen.), see Björkman ibid.

***Gero**: Geroñ (obl.) de Anvers CR I p. 138 (AD 1213).

OG *Gero* (common) F 573, a hypochoristic form of some compound with *Ger-*, for which see *Gerald*. It is possible that *Geron* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323 belongs here.

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[1] See *Gerald*.

[2] On the patronymic suffixes *-ling* and *-ing* see Kluge, Nom. St. § 22 ff., F 956 ff.

Gerrad de Land (Bedf.) RCR I p. 115 (AD 1194); *Gerad* (surname, Suss.) Inq. Non. p. 400.

Cf. OG *Ger(r)ad*[1] F 584. This derivation is, however, very uncertain, since the above forms may have arisen from *Gerard* through dissimilatory loss of the second *r*.

Ger(r)ic, ***Giric**: *Gerricus* the leech CCR III p. 430 (AD 1320); *Gerici* (gen., Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214); *Gericus* de Gillinge Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 68 (AD 1202); *Gerich* (surname, Oxf.) RH II p. 47 (Edw. I.); *Gyric* mæssepreost AS Chr. 963 A.

OG *Gerrich*, *Gerrik*[2] and *Gerich*[3] (Mod. G *Gehrick*, *Gerich*) F 573. As regards *Gery* Fines I p. 151, CR II p. 23, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 68, CCR I p. 113, RH II pp. 508, 536, 561 etc., it might be ON; cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 36. OF *Geri* (Langlois p. 274) < OG *Geric* is, however, also to be taken into account. *Gerri* (Fines I p. 97) might be a NF form of OG *Gerric*; great importance cannot, however, be attached to the double consonant.

Gersent (wife of Atselinus) LVH, see Searle; *Gersenda* (mater Roberti) Cal. Doc. p. 142 (AD 1106).

OG *Gersind(a)*, *Gersenta*[4] (Rom.) F 584 f. Difficult to judge is the form *Gersande* (acc.) KCD 1290 (AD 995); the second member might be compared to *-sand* in the WF name *Hersand*, *Ersand* (11th c.), given by F 778, which perhaps belongs to ***sanþa-* (OE *sōþ*, ON *sannr*) 'wahr'. Cf. F 1297 and Meyer-Lübke p. 76. The name *Carsanta* Fines II p. 99 is perhaps to be derived from Provençal *Garsenda*

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[1] For the members see *Gerald* and *Adradus*.

[2] Cf. *Gerald* and *Albericus*.

[3] A dim. form of compounds with *Ger-*. *Gerrich* and *Gerich* cannot always be kept distinct in OG since a simplification of the double consonant is sometimes to be noticed; cf. e. g. *Gerram* and *Geram* Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126. *Gerik* was also borne by Germans in Norway. See Lind 319.

[4] For the members see *Gerald* and *Alsent*.

(Kalbow p. 82)[1]. Allowance must, however, be made for an interchange of *Ger-* and *Gar-*, for which see *Gerbald*[2].

Gertrud: *Geretrurdis* (no doubt a mistake for *Geretrudis*) LVD p. 53 (13th. c.); *Gertruth* CR I p. 48 (AD 1205).

OG *Geredrudis*, *Geretrudis*, *Gertrud*[3] (common) F 577 f., OF *Gertru* Langlois p. 276. This is also a common ON name; cf. Lind 322, Lundgren p. 64. The former thinks, however, that it is from the German Saint's name. NE *Gertrude* [*gəətruud*], *Gertie* [*gəətĭ*] and *Gatty* have in all probability been introduced from Germany and are not continuations of ME forms, possibly come over from Normandy and France, on account of the initial [*g*] in contradistinction to the initial [*dʒ*] of such names as *Gerald* and *Gerard*, which are NF importations.

Geruald, see *Gerald*.

[**Geruet** (e. g. Rannulfus *Geruet*, Hascuill *Geruet* RCR I p. 287, II, p. 94 AD 1199) is probably < OW Scand. *Geirviðr*, O Swed. *Gervidh*. Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 37.]

Gerulf: Lindkvist, ME Pl. Ns p. 50, explains *Gerolfestuna*, *Girolfestuna* from the O Dan. man's name *Gerulw* or O Swed. *Gerulf*. In my opinion it might equally well contain the common OG p. n. *Gerulf*, *Gerolf*, *Girolf* F 588. As regards *Gerulfthorp* (Lindkvist p. 50), the second member renders ON origin probable.

Gervas, **Gerveys**: *Gervasius* LVD pp. 31, 45, 47, 50, 83, 85, 104, 112, 147; *Gervasius* RCR I p. 269 (AD 1199); *Gervasii* (gen.) le Bunt RM I p. 71; *Gervasius* vinitor ibid. p. 438; *Gervasius* Painel Ann. Waverl. p. 226 (AD 1138); *Gervas* God (Bedf.) RCR II p. 101 (AD 1199); *Gervase*

[1] Cf. *Garsindis* F 604 and *Garisindus* Bruckner p. 252. *C* for *G* might be HG (cf. the form *Kersint* in F) but in the present case it is rather due to a confusion between *c* and *g* in ME records; cf. Luhmann p. 44. *-santa* < *-senta* is explained from the coalescence of *an* and *en* in AN.

[2] The pl. n. *Gersindon* does not contain *Gersind* but, according to Moorman p. 81, OE *gærs* + *ing*.

[3] Cf. *Gerald* and *Erme(n)truda*.

(Abbot of Westminster, son of King Stephen) FNC V p. 316; *Gervasius* de Clifton (Nott.) Plac. p. 612 (Edw. III.); (Hugo) *Gerueises* (sunu) (= *Gervais* de Château-Neuf) AS Chr. 1124 E, 1126 E, 1129 E; *Gerveys* (surname) RM I p. 121, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 268 (AD 1257); *Jervays* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 222; for further instances see Bardsley p. 427 (under *Jarvis*).

OG *Gervas(ius)* (common) F 586, OF *Gervais(e)* Langlois p. 276. For the first member see *Gerald*; it is suggested by F 1547 that *-was* is related to *wasjan* 'pollere' or *wasjan* 'vestire'; Bruckner pp. 55, 319 thinks that it might be a gradation form of *wisu-* < **u̯esu-* 'gut' or < OHG *hwaz, hwas* 'scharf, heftig'. The element is, however, perhaps Celtic (< **vasso-s* 'Untergebener'). *-vais* represents the regular OF development of *-vasius*.

***Gervasia**: *Gervasie* (gen.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 490 (AD 1269); *Gervasie* (gen.) (filie Alani de Dynant) CR II p. 103 (AD 1226).

A fem. equivalent of the preceding name.

***Gerward**: *Gyreweard* (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 980).

OG *Gerward* F 586. On the Rom. form *Gir-* by the side of *Ger-*, see *Gerald*[1]. — *Geruerd* Pipe Rolls II p. 26, (Ennian fil.) *Gieruerd* ibid., *Gerverd* (son of Oen) CCR II p. 360 = *Jouerd* ibid. p. 363, *Yerwardo* (dat.) ap Griffith de Snowedon Rot. Orig. I p. 261, are Welsh; cf. Bardsley p. 834. Miss Yonge (p. 378) gives *Jorwarth* as the Welsh equivalent of English *Edward*.

***Gerwig**: *Gherui* (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 323; *Girui* (DB 169) Hildebrand DB p. 354; *Geroicus* Cal. Doc. pp. 221, 222; *Gervicius* LVD p. 95 (13th c.); *Gerveio* (abl.) Prior. Finch. p. 4.

OG *Gerwig, Gerwic, Gerwi, Girveus* F 587. For the members see *Gerald* and **Herewig*.

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[1] For second member see *Beluard*. On the pl. n. *Gerward(e)by* by the side of *Geruezbi* see Lindkvist p. 51.

Gerwin: *Geruini* LV 291; *Gerwin* RC p. 118 (AD 1204); *Gerwinus* Giffard de Gaunt, tixtor, FY p. 51 (AD 1356); Roberti (gen.) *Gerwyne* ibid. p. 69 (AD 1371); *Jerwyn* (surname, Leic.) Rot. Orig. I p. 201 (Edw. II.).

OG *Gerwin* F 587 f. For the members see *Gerald* and *Amalwin*. O Swed. *Gerwin* is probably of German origin. Cf. Lundgren p. 64.

Geslinus LVD p. 55 (13th c.)[1]; *Gesselino* (abl.) Mem. Rip. IV p. 189 = *Gescelinus* ibid. foot-note 1.

Geslinus might be a mistake for **Gerlinus* (cf. *Gerling* above). It might further stand for **Gislinus* (cf. *Giselinus* below) owing to the fact that *e* is sometimes written for *ī* in ME texts; cf. Behrens p. 101, Luhmann p. 115. As regards **Gesselin*, **Gescelin*, they are rather to be associated with OG *Gecelin* (F 626), a dim. form of *Gezo* (F 625), for which see Stark p. 86. On the spellings *s(s)*, *sc* for OG *z* see *Azelin* above.

Gibard, see *Gif(f)ard*.

Gib(b)ewin: Gaufr' *Gibewin* Ped. Fin. III p. 96 (AD 1198); Galfr' *Gibbewin'* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 306 (AD 1236); Will' *Gibbewiñ* Rot. Fin. p. 444 (AD 1207); the pl. n. *Buxegibewyn* FA IV p. 176, cf. Alexander p. 55.

OG *Gebawin*, *Gibuin*, *Giboin* (Rom.), etc. F 636, OF *Gebuïn*, *Giboïn*, *Gibouïn* Langlois p. 277. The first member is OHG *gëba* (OE *gifu*) 'Gabe'. *Gib-* is due to the influence of the palatalized *g*; cf. Mackel p. 105. For the second member see *Amalwin*. *Gefuini* LV (Müller p. 116) is etymologically distinct from the above forms, the first member being OE *gæf* (O Swed. *gâfa*, OHG **gâba*) 'Gabe'.

Gibelin (Cornw.) Fines I p. 357 (John).

Cf. OG *Gibilin*, *Gibelin* F 632, *Gibelîn*, Pott p. 135, dim. forms of *Gibo* below. Bardsley, who has found no ME examples of NE *Giblin(g)*, explains this name as a dim. form of *Gib* < *Gilbert*. This explanation is no doubt correct,

[1] . . . Reinaldus, Gaufridus, Rodbertus, *Geslinus*, Rogerius . . .

and most probably also to be applied to the above form as well as to the dim. form *Gibelot*, frequently met with in ME.

***Gib(b)o**(?): *Gibonis* (gen.) de Hauvill CR I p. 408 (AD 1219); *Gibbonem* (acc.) ibid. p. 179 (AD 1214).

Cf. OG *Gib(b)o* F 631, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Gib-* (see *Gib(b)ewin* above). It is not impossible, however, that the above names are derived from *Gib* (< *Gilbert*) by means of the OF suffix *-on*[1], and thus are identical with NE *Gibbon*, occurring in ME as *Gibon*, *Gibbon*, *Giboun* etc., though they do not seem to appear till the 14th c.

Gibold (surname) RH II p. 568 (Edw. I.); *Gyband* (surname) ibid. I p. 446 probably = **Gybaud* < **Gybald*.

OG *Giboald*, *Givold* (Rom.), *Gebald*, etc. F 635 f. For the first member see *Gib(b)ewin* above, for the second member, *Ansoldus*[2].

Gif(f)ard: Berenger *Gifard*, *Osbernus Giffard*, Walterus *Giffard*, *Gifart* Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 424; *Gifardus* (Suff.), *Gifart* (Norf.) ibid. II p. 323; *Gifard* (þes kinges hird clerc) AS Chr. 1123 E; Willelm *Gif(f)ard* (Bish. of Winchester)[3] ibid. 1100 E, 1103 E, 1123 E; Helias *Giffard*, Willelmus *Giffart*, Walterius *Giffart*, Adine *Giffart*, Osbertus *Giffard* LVD pp. 71, 81, 93; *Giffardus* (abbas de Waverleia) Ann. Waverl. p. 316 (AD 1234); *Giffard* de Gedeleston RCR I p. 167 (AD 1198); *Giffardo* (et Emerico et Roberto nunciis Burgensium Rupelle) CR I p. 419 (AD 1220); Gerwinus *Giffard* de Gaunt textor, Levekyn *Giffard*, frater ejus, FY p. 51 (AD 1356); Johannes *Juffard* Pt. Y p. 37 (AD 1379); Johannes *Geoffard* Duc. Lanc. p. 6; *Givard* (homo Herberti camerarii) MRS p. 25; etc.

OG *Gifard*, *Givard* (Rom.) F 633. Bruckner (p. 256) suggests that *Gifard* is < **Gidfard* (OE *gid* 'Spruch, Lied')

[1] Cf. Rotzoll p. 48 f., Höge p. 28.

[2] Does *Giboda* Wint. DB p. 544 belong here? Cf. *Albod(o)*.

[3] Cf. FNC V p. 167.

or a Frankish (or Saxon) form of OHG *Kebahard*. In my opinion the latter alternative is correct. Frankish (or Saxon) *Gebehard* has become *Gevehard* and with loss of the composition-joint **Gefhard*[1]. Similar instances of *f* (< *b*) are found in *Liofgart* (*Leobgart*), *Lifward* (*Libward*), *Lifhard* (*Liphart*), *Lifmar* (*Lipmar*) etc.[2] Hence the above-mentioned Rom. forms *Gifard* and *Givard*[3] may reflect the interchange of *f* and *v* in **Gefhard* and *Gevehard* above. As regards the form *Givard*, it might also be due to an OF development of intervocalic *b* > *v*[4]. Hildebrand's[5] explanation of *Gif(f)ard* as 'der Confiscierer; frz. giffer, ein Haus mit Gyps zeichnen, d. h. es confiscieren' is of course not applicable to the cases where it occurs as a Christian name, and there is no reason to think that the Christian name and the surname are of different origins. The spellings *Juffard* and *Geoffard* above are probably to be set down as AN.

Gilbert, see *Gislebert.*

Gilo, *Ghilo* (frater Ansculfi) (Berks., Buck., Oxf., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 423, 424; *Gilo* monetarius (Ess.) RB p. 650 (AD 1154—55); *Gilo* de Pinkeni Rot. Canc. p. 346, etc.

OG *Gilo* = *Gislebertus*[6] Stark p. 47. This derivation of the above instances is rendered somewhat uncertain by the occurrence of a Celtic name-element *Gill-*, appearing in *Gil(l)acris*, Grueber p. 303, *Gilemichel*, *Gilepatric*, *Ghilebrid*, *Ghilander*, *Ghil(e)*, *Ghille* etc. Ellis, Intr. II pp. 117, 118[7]. Bugge (Die nordeuropäischen Verkehrswege p. 275) has

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[1] See Franck, Afr. Gr. § 78 f.

[2] In the same way, *Giffred* (see *Gaufrid* above) may very well be derived from an OG etymon **Gebafrid* > *Geffrid* > Rom. *Giffred.*

[3] For *i* < *e* see *Gib(b)ewin.*

[4] The DB-forms *Gibard*, *Gibart* (Exon. DB 4, 9, 16) are < OG *Gebhard* with *b* preserved.

[5] DB p. 336.

[6] See *Gislebert* below.

[7] Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 48, Yonge p. 259 f.

pointed out that in the Irish compounds with *Gilla-* the Vikings thought they recognized an independent name *Gilla* whence they came to use a p. n. *Gilli* (gen., dat. *Gilla*) in the ON settlements in Ireland whereas this never occurs as an Irish p. n.[1]

Ginant, see **Winand.*

Gisa, see *Giso.*

Gisbertus vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 324; *Gisebrit, Gysebrit, Gysebrithe* de Gaunt CMR I pp. 195, 211, 212 (AD 1281, 1286); *Gyesbright* juynour FY p. 126 (AD 1417).

OG *Gis(e)bert, Gisbrecht,* etc. F 645. *Gis-*, for which see *Ansegis,* does not occur in native names; *Gisshard* BCS 445 is an error for *Gilsheard* (ibid. 536) or *Gislheard* (ibid. 538). For the second member see *Adalbert. Gisbrîkt, Gisbertus,* etc. in Lind 335 are certainly German.

***Giselinus**: *Giselino* (dat.) de Dunse Rot. Canc. p. 322.

Gislin, Gislenus F 649, Rom. dim. forms of compounds with *Gisel-* (see *Gislebert*) or *Gis-* (see the preceding name).

Gislebert, Gilbert: *Gislebertus* (Linc.), *Gislebertus* arbalistarius (Norf.), *Gislebertus* cocus (Norf.), *Gislebertus* de Gand[2] (Berks., Buck., Oxf., etc.), *Gislebertus* Episcopus Lisiacensis[3] (Glouc.), *Gislebertus* (filius Richerii, Surr., Norf.), *Gislebertus* (filius Turoldi, Som., Glouc., etc.), *Gislebertus* presbyter (Ess.), *Gislebertus* (filius Garini, Ess.), *Gislebertus* (frater Roberti clerici, Hants.) *Gislebertus* (homo episcopi Baiocensis, Ess.), *Gislebertus* (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), *Gislebertus* vicecomes (Suss., Heref.), *Gislebertus* Tison = *Gilbert* Tisun (Yorks., Linc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 424, 425, 493, II pp. 118, 324; *Gysilbrycht* de Gaunt (Linc.) RH I

[1] Robertus *Gyll*, peweterer, FY p. 177 (AD 1457) is probably a Fleming in which case his surname is likely to be < OG *Gillo. Giletto* (de Alemannia) Rot. Orig. II p. 114 (Edw. III.) might be an OF dim. form of the same name or of *Wilhelm.*

[2] "Son to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders" Ellis, Intr. I p. 422, foot-note 4.

[3] = "*Gislebertus* de Maminot, chaplain and one of the physicians of the Conqueror."

p. 278 (Edw. I.), probably = *Gilebert'* de Gaunt ibid p. 254; *Gilebert* (Abbot of Westminster)[1] AS Chr. 1117 E; *Gilbert* Uniuersal of Lundene ibid. 1130 E; *Gilbertus* (monachus Cluniacensis monasterii, Abbot of Gloucester) CG I pp. 18, 64, 76 etc.; *Gilleberto* (obl.) Franceis RM I p. 275; *Gislebertus*, *Gil(l)ebert(us)*, *Gillebrect* LVD pp. 13, 15, 19, 39, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 69, 71, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113 etc.; *Gilbertus* Andwerp, glover, FY p. 77 (AD 1379); Willelmus *Gylbard* (Suss.) FA V p. 150 (AD 1428); cf. Bardsley p. 316.

OG *Gisilbert*, *Gislebert*, *Gillebert*, *Gilbert* F 638, 650 f., OF *Gislebert*, *Gil(l)ebert* Langlois p. 270. *Gīsil-* is probably OHG *gîsal* (OE *gīsel*) 'Geisel'; see also Bruckner p. 90. In the present compound it does not occur in England till DB *Gil(l)e-* is from *Gisle-* through assimilation of *sl* > *ll*, see Menger p. 103, or is merely a hypochoristic form. It is possible that *Gil-* may sometimes be kept distinct from *Gisil-* and be explained with Bruckner (p. 256) as a gradation form of *Gail-* (see *Gail(l)ard*). *Gil(le)bert* might at last sometimes be < OG *Wil(li)bert* with NF *G(u)* for *W*; cf. *Guilbert* (surname) CCR I p. 341 (AD 1249). Whether, or how far, Celtic *Gill-* has had any influence on the above forms cannot be determined. The oldest form in England is *Gislebert*, and it is not impossible that the younger form *Gil(le)bert* may to some extent be due to the influence of Celtic *Ghilebrid* (= *Gillabrid* 'the servant of Brigitta') and other compounds with the same element, which are sometimes not easily kept distinct from continental names. Cf. e. g. *Gillemare* LVD p. 70, which probably is < Celtic *Gilmory* ('the servant of Mary') but which might be taken to represent OG *Gilemar*. For the second member see *Adalbert*.

Gislefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 118.

OG *Gisilfred*, *Gislefred* etc. F 652. For the members see

[1] Cf. FNC III p. 33.

Gislebert and *Erlefred*. Cf. further Grueber, Intr. p. 43 and Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

Gislehelm mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 142.

OG *Giselhelm* etc. F 654. For the members see *Gislebert* and **Anshelm*. No other instance of this name is on record in OE.

Gislemer mon. (Aethelstan, Eadred), Grueber pp. 117, 149.

OG *Gislemar*[1] F 654, Waltemath p. 23. No other instance on record in OE. Cf. Köpke p. 24. If native, the first member of this name, as well as of the two preceding ones, would be *Gisl-* instead of *Gisle-*.

Giso, Gisa, *Gyso*, *Gyse*, *Gise* episcopus KCD 809, 811, 813, 816, 821, 822, 824, 825, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 897, 917, 918, 976 (AD 1060—66); *Gisa* preost AS Chr. 1060 D, 1061 E; *Giso* episcopus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 118, 325; all these instances refer to *Giso*, Bish. of Wells, a Lotharingian. Cf. Flor. Wig. AD 1060 and FNC II p. 449.

OG *Giso* F 644, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Gis-* (cf. Stark p. 16), for which see *Gisbertus*.

***Gisulf**: *Gysolf* (surname), (Ess.) RH I p. 162 (Edw. I.).

OG *Gisulf*, *Gisolf* (very common) F 646. For the members see *Gisbertus* and *Aginulfus*.

Givard, see *Gif(f)ard*.

***Gobert**, see *Godebert*.

Gocelin, see *Gozelin*.

Gocemar, see **Gosmer*.

Gocin, see *Gosinus*.

***Godbrand**: Gilberti (gen.) *Godbran* Rot. Orig. I p. 203 (Edw. II.).

Probably < ON *Guðbrandr* (Lind 368, Lundgren 73, Nielsen p. 35) rather than from the rare OG *Gotbrand* F 679. On *Godebrand* in King Horn see Binz p. 215[2].

Godebert Flandr̃ de Ros MRS p. 137; *Godebert* (Ess.) RB

[1] For the members see *Gislebert* and *Ainmer*.

[2] His identification of this name with OE **Guðbrand* is incorrect.

p. 355 (AD 1166); (Lambert filius) Rogeri *Godeberd* (Leic.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 283 (AD 1258); (Robertus filius) *Goberti* Ellis, Intr. I p. 478.

OG *Godebert, Gobert* F 678. The first member is either OHG *guot* (OE *gōd*) 'gut' or OHG *got* (OE *gŏd*, ON *guð*) 'Gott', which elements in many cases cannot be kept distinct. *Gobert* < *God(e)bert* is due to the OF loss of the dental before the following labial. In the Northern French dialects *Gobert* may also be from *Gaudbert*, according to Kalbow p. 45. For the second member see *Adalbert*. The moneyer's name *Godbriht* (Will. I.) quoted by Searle from Ruding, is, if correct, probably also of continental origin, since there are no other instances of this name on record in OE. The form is, however, uncertain; it is perhaps identical with the moneyer's name *Godsbriht* (Will. I.) which might stand for OG *Gozbert* (see *Gosbert* below).

Godeboldus (et Odo Franci duo, Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 317; *Godebold(us)* (Berks., Shrops., etc.), *Godeboldus* presbyter (Shrops.), *Godbold* (Buck.), *Godeboldus* (Som., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 425, II pp. 317, 326; *Gotbaldus, Gotboldus* Exon. DB 60, 63; *Gobaut* (surname, Warw.) FA V p. 176 (AD 1316); *Godebot* CCR I p. 195 (AD 1235).

OG *God(e)bald, Godebold*, etc. F 677. For the members see *Godebert* and *Albod(o)*. No instances earlier than DB are found in England. Bardsley (p. 321 f.) explains the ME surname *Gobet* < *Godbold*. If it really is an original Christian name, it will more naturally be derived from *Gobert* (see *Godebert* above) or be explained as an OF dim. form of *Gobert* (or *Gobald*), just as OF *Gobin* is no doubt < *Gob-(ert)* + *īn*. To judge by the exclusively surname function of ME *Gobet*, one might think, however, that it is an original appellative, viz. ME *gobet* 'a small piece' < OF *gobet* 'a morsel of food'.

Godebot, see the preceding name.

God(e)frid: *Godeferð, Godefreð, Godefrið, Godefryð* mon. (Eadwig, Aethelred II, Cnut) Grueber pp. 161, 199, 275,

Hildebrand pp. 41, 80, 241; *Godefrið* (abbot of Evesh.) Thorpe p. 617; *Godefridus* scutularius (Dors.), *Godefridus* (Kent, Suss., Surr., etc.), *Godefridus* clericus (Suss.), *Godefridus* dapifer (Kent), *Godefridus* miles (Dors.), *Godefridus* (et Eurardus, Ess.), *Godefridus* (homo Abbatis S. Petri de Burg, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 426, II p. 326; *Godefreið* of Baðe[1] AS Chr. 1123 E, 1130 E; *Godefridum* (acc.) Cistrensi æcclesiæ antistitem AS Chr. I p. 290; *Godefrid*, *Godefred*, *Godefreid* LVD pp. 8, 18, 39, 53, 55, 59, 62, 63, 68, 78, 85, 86, 89, 95, 96, 100, 109, 113; *Godefrid* de Brabant (Linc.) Inq. Non. p. 278; *Godefridus* Baiard (North.) RB p. 32 (AD 1161—62); *Godefridus* de Cambrei Chr. Petr. p. 181; *Godfridus* de Ulenbergh, webster, FY p. 65 (AD 1367); *Godfridus* Overscote (mercator de Braban) ibid. p. 70 (AD 1372), *Godfridus* van Uppestall, webster, ibid. p. 75 (AD 1376); *Godefrey* (surname) e. g. RH I p. 511 (Edw. I.); *Goffridus* LVD p. 137, Exon. DB 75, 83, 162, 359, 393, 395, 400 etc. For further instances see Bardsley p. 322[2].

OG *God(e)frid*, *-fred* (Mod. G *Gottfried*) F 679 f., OF *Godefroi(s)* Langlois p. 289 f. For the members see *Godebert* and *Amelfridus*. For *Goffrid* and instances of confusion between *Godfrid* and *Gaufrid*, see the latter name. On *-freið* see *Gaufrid*. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 53.

Godehar, ***Gothar**: Hugonis (gen.) *Godehar* (Norf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 560 (AD 1272); *Gothaṽ* (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 305 (AD 1205).

OG *Godehar*, *Gothar* (Rom.), Mod. G *Gotter* F 680 f., OF *Gohier* Langlois p. 290. For the members see *Godebert* and *Aeðelhere*. It cannot be determined whether *Goder(e)* mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 224, 245, 284, 410, *Godere* (dat.) KCD 967 (Aelfhelm),

[1] 'he wæs boren of Luuein.'

[2] *Godefricus* de Lucy LVD p. 50 is no doubt to be read *Godefridus*. *Goffe* (surname) RH II p. 548, etc., is explained by Bardsley (p. 324) as a Welsh nickname, but might also be a nickname for *Goffrid*.

Godere, *Goderus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 120 are native or not. Their late appearance, however, renders it probable that they are of foreign origin.

***Godehard**: *Godardus* (homo Gozelini filici Lanberti, Linc.), *Godartus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 326; *Godard* de Boyvill ESC p. 406; *Goddard* (surname, London) RH I p. 424; further instances are given by Bardsley p. 322.

OG *Gotahard*, *Godhard* (Mod. G. *Godehard*, *Gotthard*) F. 680, OF *Godard* Kalbow p. 130. For the member see *Godebert* and **Actard*. This name does not occur in England earlier than DB. Cf. further Yonge p. 287.

***Godehild**: *Gotil(d)* (Essex) Ellis, Intr. II p. 131; *Godeheuld'* uxor CCR III p. 93 (AD 1307). Cf. also *Godhild*, mother of King Horn.

OG *Godahild*, *Godehildis*, *Gothildis* F 681. For the members see *Godebert* and **Ainild*. It is most probable that *Godehold* de Moiun (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 60 (John), *Godeholt* (uxor Eustac' de Burnes) ibid. p. 28 are from the same OG etymon, the second member representing the OF development of *il* > *el* > *al* > *ol*, for which see *Iseldis* below.

***Godehold**, see preceding name.

Godelena Abbr. Plac. p. 309; *Godelena* de Romfeld Inq. Non p. 402 (Edw. II.); *Godelena* Cust. p. 42 (Edw. I.).

The fem. equivalent of *Godelenus*, *Godelin* F 660, Rom. dim. forms of *God-*, see *Godebert*.

Godelent (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 120.

OG *Godalindis*, *Godelint*, *Godelendis* F 682, *Gotelind* (in Niebelungenlied). For the first member see *Godebert*; the second member is either OHG *linta* (OE *lind*)[1] 'Linde' or OHG *lind*, *lint* 'Schlange'. The latter element might occur in *Hildelid*[2] (OET p. 515).

Godesbolt, see *Gosbald*.

Godesbrand mon. (Edw. the Conf., Harold II.) Grueber pp. 426, 460; *Godesbrand* LVH, quoted from Searle; Walter

[1] Not used as a second member in OE p. ns.

[2] Or is *-lid* < OE *liðe* (OHG *lindi*) 'mild, freundlich'?

Godisbrond (Hunt.) RH II p. 592 (Edw. I.); *Godesbrandus*, *Godesbranus* Wint. DB pp. 535, 541, *Godesbranesson* ibid. p. 533.

No OG equivalent seems to be on record, but the above forms are no doubt continental. *Godes-* is the gen. case of *God-* 'Gott' and a characteristic of OG personal nomenclature; cf. F 688 f., Socin p. 210 f.; Gröger p. 239[1]. For the second member see *Aeðelbrand.*

Godesman: *Godesmañ* (fil. Wigot) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214); *Godesman* le Pelter, *Godesman* Polle, *Godesman* Daunt, *Godesman* le Roper, *Godesman* (son of Richard), *Godesman* Gillot CCR III pp. 123, 124 (AD 1308).

OG *Godasman*, *Godesman* (Mod. G *Gottsmann*, *Gotzmann*) F 688. For the first member see the preceding name. The second member is OHG *man* (OE *man*, *mon*) 'Mann'.

Godes(s)a (Kent, Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 120.

A fem. equivalent of OG *Godizo, Godiza, Godezo* F 661, dim. forms of *God-*, for which cf. *Godebert.* The form of the suffix of the above name is probably due to the influence of OF *-esse* < Latin *-issa.* The usual OF form of OG *-iz(z)a* is *-isse.*

Godesscalc sacerdos, minister BCS 680, 681 (AD 931); *Godescallus* (abbas Abbunduniæ) Hist. Ab. I p. 68 (c. AD 940); *Godescalco* (abl.) presbytero KCD 957 (AD 931); *Godescal* (Wilts., Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 426, II p. 327; *Godescalle* (dat.), *Godescallus* Hist. Ab. I pp. 64, 92, 277 (cf. above); *Godescallus* CRC p. 21 (John); *Godescallo* (dat.) servienti RC p. 147 (AD 1205); *Godescalli* (gen.) de Hamburg CR I p. 607 (AD 1224); *Godescalk* (*Goldescalk*) mercator Hist. Pap. p. 328; *Godescalk* (surname), RH II p. 808 (Edw. I.); *Godescallĩ* de Magheliñ (*Godescallo* (abl.) de Macheliñ) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 124 (AD 1224—26); *Godescalli* (gen.)

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[1] To be kept distinct from the OG p. ns, compounded with *Godes-*, are such ME surnames as *Godeshalve, Goduspart, Goddesknygt, Godespeny*, etc.

Flandrens̃ (Ipswich), CR II p. 214 (AD 1227); *Godesckalke* de Estlaund (Linc.) RH I p. 402; *Goddescalcus* de Smithhusen FY p. 44 (AD 1350); *Godeskalk* Scudic, de Almann.. furbur, ibid. p. 44 (AD 1350).

OG *Godasscalc*, *Godescalcus*, *Godscalc*, etc. (Mod. G *Gottschalk*) F 668 f., OF *Godescal* Langlois p. 290. For the first member see *Godesbrand*. The forms with a single *s* may also contain *God-* 'Gott'[1]. The second member is OHG *scalc* (OE *scealc*) 'Knecht', which element is absent from native names. The present English *Gottschalck* is a Mod. G immigrant surname; cf. Bardsley p. 331.

Godin mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 149; *Godinus* de Doneston' Plac. p. 417 (Edw. I.), *Godin'* (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 148; Gileberti (gen.) *Godin* ibid. p. 13, etc.

Cf. *Godin* (Rom.) F 660 f., OF *Godin* Langlois p. 290, a dim. derivative from *God-*, see *Godebert*. It is impossible to determine to what extent the above forms are to be derived from native *Godwine;* cf. Archiv 123 p. 33. — A fem. form of the same name is *Godina* RH II p. 831, Abbr. Plac. p. 38, etc. *Godiuel* LVD p. 61 is certainly an error for *Godinel* < *Godin* + OF *-el*. Cf. also the OF dim. form *Godinot* Bardsley p. 322.

Godland LVD p. 79 (12th or 13th c.).

OG *Godland*, *Gotland* F 682. For the members see *Godebert* and *Amerland*. When *Godland* occurs as a surname (e. g. Hugo *Godlond*, RH II p. 783, Robertus *Godland*, Giff. Reg. p. 260) it is probably of local origin; cf. *de Godeland* Rot. Fin. p. 326 (AD 1205).

Godman, Godeman, Godaman mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 210, 211, 212, 224, 227, 229, 238, 240, 260, 264, 268, 282, 286, 289, 299, 380, 410, 434,

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[1] Cf. F 688: "Häufiger aber werden in den Quellen nur ein einfaches *s* geschrieben, zum Teil mit Recht (in eigentlicher Composition), zum Teil gewiss nur ungenau statt des doppelten Spiranten."

439, 446, 447; *Godeman* (abbot) KCD 684 (AD 993); *Godemannus* abbas ibid. 710, 1317 (AD 1004, 1012); *Godman* preost ibid. 1324 (AD 1046); *Godman* (chaplain of King Edw. the Conf.) Flor. Wig. (AD 1053); *Godman* (Hants., Som., etc.), *Godman* teinnus (Suff.), *Godmannus* liber homo (Ess.), *Godemanus* (Suff.), etc. Ellis, Intr. II pp. 120, 121, 327; *God(e)man* (surname), common in ME.

Cf. OG *Guotman*, *Godeman*, *Gotman*, etc. F 662, 683. For the members see *Godebert* and *Godesman*. It is probable that this name was introduced from the continent, since it is of late appearance in England, as is to be seen from the above instances. It seems, however, soon to have become naturalized. On the form *Goðman* see Björkman, Pers. p. 48.

Godsalm, see **Goscelm*.

Godsbriht, see *Gosbert*.

Godselm, see **Goscelm*.

***Godsold,** see *Gosewold*.

Goffrid, see *God(e)frid*.

Gogewinus LVD p. 99 (13th c.).

Is the first member to be compared to OG *Gog-* in *Gogo*, *Cogipald*, etc. (F 690), which Bruckner (p. 82 f.) associates with MHG *gogel* 'ausgelassen, lustig'? Cf. however *Gogan* (homo Edeue, Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 129 which rather contains Celtic *Gog-* (see Holder 2031). The form *Gogewinus* is after all rather a mistake for *Godewinus*.

Goisbert, see *Gosbert*.

Gos, see *Gozo*.

Gosberia LVD pp. 60, 69 (13th c.).

OG *Gausberga* (Rom.), *Gozpirc*, etc. F 614; cf. also *Gautberga* ibid. *Goz-* is < *Gaut-* (see *Aingot* above and Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 3). *Gaus-*, however, is as a rule not to be derived from *Gaut-*, as F assumes, but is related to ON *gjósa* and *geysi-* 'exceedingly, greatly' according to Bruckner p. 254, Meyer-Lübke p. 31. It cannot be determined whether the etymon of *Gosberia* is *Gos-* or *Goz-*, since *z* is

sometimes written *s*, cf. *Azelin*. For the second member see *Alberia*.

Gosbert, Goisbert, etc.: *Gosebricht* BCS 1008 (AD 940), *Godsbriht* mon. (Will. I.) quoted from Searle; Hugo *Gosbert* (Dors.), *Gosbertus* (Glouc., Suff.), *Goisbertus* (Dev., Oxf., Staff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II pp. 329, 330; *Goisbert'* dapifer MRS p. 106; *Josbertus* (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 457 (AD 1228); *Josberti* (gen.) de Capella CR I p. 126 (AD 1212); Henr' *Josebard* (Buck.) Inq. Non. p. 333; the pl. n. *Gozeberdecherca*, *Gosebertechirche*[1].

OG *Gausbert*, *Gosbert*, *Gautbert*, *Gauzbert*, *Gosbert*, *Josbert* (Rom.), etc. F 614 f. For the first members and the difficulty of keeping them distinct, see the preceding name. In *Godsbriht*, if the form be correct, *ds* is used to denote *z*, as e. g. in *Godselinus* by the side of *Gozelinus*. *Gois-*, also occurring in continental records, cannot be explained from *Gaus-* or *Gaut-*; the etymon will have been Rom. *Gautiobert* (F ibid.) or **Gausiobert* (cf. *Gauciobert* and *Causipert* in F) which regularly become OF *Gois-*, *Joisbert*[2]. *Gautio-* and **Gausio-* are due to a confusion between *Gaut-*, *Gaud-* (WF) and *Gaus-* and Latin *gaudium* 'joy'; cf. also the Rom. form *Gaudibert* F ibid. The form *Gaus-* (found in *Gausbert*, "second Abbot of Battle, formerly monk of Marmoutier" FNC IV p. 496; *Gausbertus* Exon. DB 19, 379, Hugo *Gausbertus* ibid. 21, 22, 25) is probably an archaic spelling (*au* became *ō* in OG and OF as early as the 8th cent.) but might also be explained as Provençal, where *au* has been preserved. For the second member see *Adalbert*.

Gosbold (Linc.) R II p. 64 (Rich. I.).

OG *Gausbald*, *-bold*, *Gozbald* etc. F 613 f. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Albod(o)*.

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[1] See Zachrisson AN Infl. p. 54, note, who derives this pl. n. from OE *Gosbeorht*, a form constructed by Searle. *Gos-* is not a native name-element; cf. also *Gozo* below.

[2] With regular OF fronting of *g* before *a(u)*.

Goscelin, see *Gozelin.*

***Goscelm:** *Goscelmus* (Dev., Cornw.), *Goscelmus* loremarius (Ess.), *Goscelmus* cocus (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II p. 300.

Cf. OG *Gozhelm, Gozelm, Gauselm,* etc. F 617 f., OF *Jociaume, Josselme,* etc. Langlois p. 377. For the members see *Gosberia* and **Anshelm.* The above forms are not certain, since confusion of *-elm* with *-elin* is very common. Indeed, *Goscelmus* lorimarius appears as *Goscelinus* lorimarius Ellis, Intr. II p. 330. Cf. also Searle, Intr. p. 30, who states that *Gocelinus* and *Gocelm* occur as the name of a moneyer of Henry II. The name *Godselm* LVD p. 70 might be = *Gozelm* or < OG *Godeshelm* (cf. *Coteshelm*[1] F 688) but is more likely = *Gozelin* (see below). In the same way, the name *Godsalm* (Rot. Orig. II p. 63, CCR II pp. 385, 386, 406, etc.) probably does not contain as a second member OG *-halm* (see Schatz, Abair. Gr. § 4) or OF *-alm* < *-helm* (cf. *Josialme* Langlois p. 377) but is = **Godsalin* (see *Gozelin*).

***Goselina,** see **Gozelina.*

Goseling, see *Gozelin.*

Gosewold, etc.: Rogero (dat.) *Gosewolde* Rot. Orig. II p. 327 (Edw. III.); *Godsoldo* (abl.) RB p. 190 (AD 1166); *Gossolt* (surname) Cust. p. 115 (Edw. I.).

OG *Gozold, Gosald* (< *Gauzolt, Gausald*) F 620. For the members see *Gosbert* and *Ansoldus.*

Gosfrid, Goisfrid: *Gosfridus, Gosfredus* Exon. DB 62, 123, 164, 165, 166, 323; *Gosfridus* episcopus ibid. 7, 14, 16, 63, etc.; *Goisfridus* (Wilts., Oxf.), *Goisfridus* (camerarius filiæ Regis, Hants.), *Goisfridus* episcopus (Hunt., Linc.), cf. above; *Goisfridus* marescal (Wilts.), *Goisfridus* (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Rotel.), *Goisfridus* Lawirce[2] (Yorks.), *Gosfridus* (Norf., Suff.), *Goisfridus* quidam (Rutl.), *Goisfridus* canonicus (Suss.), *Goisfridus* dericus (Suss.), *Goisfridus* (filius Hamonis, Suff.),

[1] For the members see *Godesbrand* and **Anshelm.*

[2] = *Goisfridus* de Wirce Ellis, Intr. I p. 514.

Goisfridus (Kent), *Goisfridus* (homo Normanni de Adreci, Linc.), *Goisfridus* (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 427, 428, 443, II pp. 130, 329, 330, 331; *Gosfrid(us)* LVD pp. 14, 15, 18, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67, 145; *Gosfridus* Chr. Petr. p. 169; *Goisfridi* (gen.) capellani, *Goisfredum* (acc.) dapiferum Hist. Ab. II pp. 53, 98, 193; *Gosfrei* Bainard AS Chr. 1096 E; *Goisfri* 'munuc on Ealdan mynstra' ibid. 1114 H; *Gosfrið* Bish. (see above) ibid. 1087 E; *Gosfreið* Martæl 'þes eorles sunu of Angeow'[1] ibid. 1127 E; *Iosfred*, *Josfreid*, *Josfreið*[2] LVD pp. 6, 52, 69; *Gausfridus*, *Gaosfridus* Bainard (cf. *Gosfrei* Bainard above) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 292, 322; *Gausfridus* LVD p. 51.

OG *Gosfrid*, *Josfrid* (Rom.) and *Gozfrid* (< *Gausfrid*, *Gauzfrid*, *Gautfrid*) F 616. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Amelfrid*; for *-freið* see *Gaufrid*. The confusion of *Gosfrid* with *Gaufrid* (see this name) may be a mere error, but is on the other hand easily explained from the possible coalescence of *Gaufrid* and *Gautfrid*, which latter name has also given rise to *Gauzfrid* > *Gozfrid* > *Gosfrid*. *Gosfrid* and its variants have not left any traces in modern English personal nomenclature, but have probably been levelled under *Geoffrey* (see *Gaufridus*).

***Goshard(?)**: Fulco *Goscard* (Bedf.) FA I p. 15 (AD 1302—3).

Cf. OG *Gozhart*, *Gozard* F 617. For the members see *Gosberia* and **Actard*. *sc* is probably to be explained by analogy with such spellings as *Goscelm*, *Goscelin*, etc.

Gosinus (worker of wools, coming from Seland) CPR VI p. 431 (AD 1337); *Godscein* (Middlesex) RCR I p. 218 (AD 1198); *Gocin'* le Draper (Oxon.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 23 (AD 1218—19).

OG *Gausin* and *Gautsinus* F 613, dim. forms of the

[1] = Geoffrey V of Anjou, married to Matilda, daughter of Henry I.

[2] The same name is *Geosfræi* KCD 1351.

name-stems *Gaus-* and *Gauz-*, see *Gosberia*. In *Godscein ei* perhaps denotes *ī*; cf *Alweis*.

***Gosmer, Goismer**, etc.: *Goismerus* (Ess.), *Goismerus* (Glouc., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 428, II p. 330; *Gosmerus* LVD p. 6 (12th c.); *Gocemar* RC p. 32 (AD 1225).

OG *Gausmar*, *Josmar* (Rom.), *Gauzmar*, *Gosmar* (very common) F 619. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Ainmer*.

***Gosram:** *Joceramus* de Buscaria CPR I p. 498 (AD 1292); *Robertus Joceram* (Staff.) RB p. 263 (AD 1166).

OHG *Cozram*, etc. F 618, OF *Joceran(t)*, *Joserant*, etc. Langlois p. 376 f. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Bertram*.

Gossolt, see *Gosewald*.

Goswin, *Goswin'* de Egremont, *Goswin* frater ejus (Gunter) RC p. 221 (AD 1216); *Goswiñ* CR I p. 125 (AD 1212); Ricardus *Goswyn* (Cornw.) FA I p. 221 (AD 1428).

OG *Goswin*, *Gozwin* (very common) < *Gauswin*, *Gauzwin* F 620 f., OF *Gossuïn* Kalbow p. 137. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Amalwin*.

Gotheram (surname, Linc.) Rot. Orig. I p. 123 (Edw. I.); *Gudramius* CCR III p. 245 (AD 1314).

OG *Godaramnus*, *Goderamus*, *Gotehramnus*, *Goteramnus*, etc. F 681 f., OF *Goderans* Langlois p. 290. For the members see *God(e)bert* and *Bertram*. — OF forms of the same OG etymon are probably *Gorante* (surname, Buck.) RCR II p. 42 (AD 1199) and (Herbertus filius) *Gurant* RB p. 271 (AD 1166) < OF *Gorrant* (Langlois p. 295) < *Godrammus* with assimilation of *dr* > *rr*[1]. The *u* of *Gurant* will be AN; cf. Menger p. 79.

Gotsalin, Gotselin, see *Gozelin*.

Gozel (homo Radulfi, Nott.), *Gozel* (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 331.

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[1] Cf. Kalbow p. 79.

Cf. OG *Gozelo* (< *Gauzilo*)[1], Mod. G *Gotsel*, *Götzel* F 612, OF *Jocel* Langlois p. 375. But it is possible that *Gozel* is = *Gozel̃* = *Gozelin*; cf. Hildebrand DB p. 324, foot-note 1. — NE *Goslet* is < *Gozel* + NF *-et*. *Guzlot* (surname, Kent) RH II p. 547 is probably < *Gozel* + *ot*.

Gozelin, **Goscelin**, **Goselin**, etc.: *Gotsalin* mon. (Cnut) Hildebrand p. 230; *Gozelinus* (Linc.), *Gozelinus* (filius Azor, Hants.), *Gozelinus* Brito (Buck.), *Gozelinus* (filius Lamberti, Linc.), *Gozelinus* (homo Hugonis Comitis, Rutl.), *Gozelinus* Riueire (Wilts.), *Godzelinus* (Som.), *Goscelinus* (homo Comitis de Moritonio, Suff.), *Goscelinus* lorimarius (Ess.), *Goselinus* (Norf.), *Goslinus* (Warw.), *Gozelinus* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Linc.), *Gozelinus* (homo Aluredi de Lincole, Linc.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 428 f., 478, II pp. 131, 329, 330, 331; *Gotselin'* canonic' Exon. DB p. 61; *Godselinus* ibid. p. 16; *Gozelinus*, *Goscelin(us)*, *Gocelinus*, *Godselinus*, *Goslinus*, *Joselin(us)*, *Jos(e)lin* LVD pp. 14, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52, 57, 61, 69, 83, 101, 106; *Gotscelinus* ibid. p. 139 (Obit.); *Goscelinus*, *Godcelinus*, *Joselinus* Hist. Ab. II pp. 23, 93, 169, 200, 231; *Goscelinus* clericus Chr. Petr. p. 82; *Goscelin* KC p. 28; *Gotscelino* (obl.) de Ely MRS p. 51; *Goscelini* (gen.) Daynill Rot. Orig. II p. 283 (Edw. III.) = *Gosteleni* (gen.) Danyell ibid. p. 268; *Gotselenus* Exon. DB 90; *Goscelyn*, *Gosselene* (surname) FA I pp. 150, 170 (AD 1302, 46); *Goseling'* (surname) Plac. p. 607 (Edw. I.); *Goslyng* (surname) CG III p. 246; *Joscelinus* Flandrenſ RLP p. 179 (AD 1216); *Jocelinus* Troteman (episcopus Bathoniensis) Ann. Marg. p. 28 (AD 1204); *Joselinus* Exon. DB p. 289; *Iotselſ* Ped. Fin. I p. 4 (AD 1190); *Goislen* (Oxf., Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 330; *Goislin* (London) MRS p. 53; *Goislin* dapifer ibid. p. 109; *Gauselinus* (Cardinal ecclesie de Sallowe) Plac. pp. 144, 150 (Edw. I.); *Gaucelinum*[2] (acc.)

[1] Or a hypochoristic dim. form of compounds with *God-*; cf. *Gozelo* = *Godefridus* Stark p. 92.

[2] Conveys a papal bull to Archb. Greenfield.

Hist. Pap. p. 266 (AD 1317); cf. further Bardsley pp. 330, 435.

OG *Gautselin*, *Gauzlin*, *Goz(e)lin*, *Goscelin*, *Jocelin* (Rom.), *Gauslin*, *Gauslenus*, *Joslenus* F 612 f., OF *Goscelin*, *Gosselin*, *Jocelin*, *Joscelin*, *Joselin*, etc. Langlois pp. 295, 375; Low Frankish instances in Heinzel p. 19. These are as a rule dim. forms of compounds with *Gos-* and *Goz-* for which see *Gosberia*. Cf. also *Goscelinus* = *Gaufridus* Stark p. 61. — *Goislan* (e. g. *Goislan* homo episcopi Dunelmensis, *Goislan* homo episcopi Lincoliensis, Ellis, Intr. II p. 330) might be due to a substitution of the Latin suff. *-anus* for *-enus* (Rom. form of *-inus*); cf. *Goislen*, *Gotselenus* and Mowat p. 313.

***Gozelina.** *Goseline* (gen.) RH II p. 451 (Edw. I.); *Goselena* Bardsley p. 312 (the same name?).

Cf *Joscelina* (Rom.) F. 613. See the preceding name.

***Gozer:** (Hugo) *Gozeri* (filius) Ellis, Intr. I p. 437; *Godzer* (surname, Wilts.) Inq. Non p. 175.

OG *Gozheri* (also entering into the pl. n. *Gozherestat*) < *Gautzer*, *Gauzer* (< *Gauter*) F 617. For the members see *Gosberia* and *Aeðelhere*.

Gozo, Goz(e), Gos, Goce, Joce, etc.: *Gozo* LVD p. 52 (13th. c.); *Gozonis* (gen.) RC p. 112 (AD 1203); *Gotso* dapifer MRS p. 73; *Godso* (surname, Kent) RH II p. 385 (Edw. I.); *Goze* (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 331; *Gotze* Hist. Ab. II p. 96 (AD 1100—35); *Gotsce* MRS pp. 148, 149; *Gotse* (dat.) dapifero CG III p. 256; Gilbert *Goze* (Bedf.) RH II p. 327 (Edw. I.); *Gosce* CR II p. 127 (AD 1226); *Goce* de Baiocis (Wilts.) Test. Nev. p. 143; *Goce* KC p. 145; *Goceus* Test. Nev. p. 297; *Gocius* (*Joceum*, acc.) de Catebi Ann. Dunst. pp. 155, 172 (AD 1240, 47); *Gosse* (Linc.) Ped. Fin. II p. 117 (AD 1197); Galfridus *Gosse* CMR I p. 314 (AD 1251); *Joce* (North.) RCR II p. 101 (AD 1199), Ricardus *Joce* Chr. Petr. p. 112; *Joceus* monachus (Surr.) ibid. p. 135 (AD 1199); *Jocei* (gen.) de Dinant Rot. Obl. p. 38 (AD 1199); *Joscium* (acc.) le Espicer CR II p. 45 (AD 1225); Walterus *Gotts* (Linc). Inq. Non. p. 278;

Turstin *Goz*, Richard *Goiz* Cal. Doc. pp. 158, 529; *Gos* (Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 130.

OG *Goz(z)o*, *Gotso*, *Jozo*, *Gauz*, *Gauso*, etc. (F 611), OF *Joce*, *Josce*, *Gosse* Langlois pp. 295, 375, in most cases hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Goz-* (see *Gosberia*) or *God-* (see *God(e)bert*)[1]. *Goze*, *Goce*, *Gosse* (*Joce*, Latinized *Joceus*) are NF forms with analogical *e*; *Goz*, *Gos*[2] are either < OG *Gauz*, *Gaus* or < *Gozo* with OF apocopation of the final *o*. When *Gos* appears as a surname[3], it may also be ME *gōs* 'goose', used as a nickname[4].

A fem. equivalent of *Joceus* is found in *Jocea* RCR II p. 16 (AD 1199), *Jocea* soror ibid. p. 42, *Josciam* (acc.) uxorem Ped. Fin Ebor. p. 154 (AD 1209).

Grimbald: *Grimbaldus*, (*Grymbaldus*) sacerdos BCS 555, 571 (AD 885, 895); *Grimbald* mæsse preost AS Chr. 903 A; *Sce Grimbaldes* mæssedæg ibid. 1075 D[5]; *Grimbaldus*

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[1] The forms *Jozo*, *Joce*, etc., however, must be derived < *Gauzo*, since *g* before *au*, not before *o*, was fronted in OF.

[2] A p. n. *Gōsa* is suggested by Searle as constituting the first member of the pl. n. (of) *Gosanwelle* BCS 754 (AD 940), and after him it has been given as an OE p. n. in several works on English pl. ns. If the pl. n. under notice really contains a p. n., as indeed it seems to do, this can not be native, since such a name would be impossible from the point of view of the sense and, moreover, does not appear till the 10th cent. It seems most probable that it is < OG *Gauso* (cf. Kalbow p. 53, F 611) with OG or OF monophthongization of *au* > *o*. In *Gosdæne* BCS 594 (AD 901) the first member is to be explained with Middendorff (p. 60) as OE *gōs* 'goose'.

[3] E. g. Robert *Gos* RCR II p. 45 (AD 1199); cf. Isabel le *Gous*, Richard le *Gos*, etc.

[4] The Jew's name *Joceus* (CR I p. 272), *Gotsce* (MRS pp. 148, 149) might be the Scriptural name *Joshua* (*Josiah*; cf. also Manasser fil. *Jossy* RH II p. 282), influenced by NF *Goze*, *Joce*.

[5] All these instances refer to *Grimbald* "monk of St. Bertin's in Flanders, whom Alfred brought over to assist him in the task of raising the condition of learning in England". Cf. Earle-Plummer II p. 122.

LVD p. 32; *Grimbaldus* abbas[1], *Grimbaldus* medicus[2], Hist. Ab. II pp. 50, 52, 62 etc.; *Grimbaldus* (Berks.), *Grimbaldus* aurifaber[3] (Wilts.), *Grimbald* (homo Bisi, Buck.), *Grimbaldus* (Linc.), *Grimbaldus* (homo Eddeuæ, Cambr.), *Grimbaldus* (homo Regis E., Bedf.), *Grimboldus* (Linc.) *Grimbaldus* (North., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 430, II pp. 132, 332; *Grimbaldus*, *-boldus* Exon. DB pp. 7, 11, 14, 17; *Grimbald* of Plessis (a Norman) FNC II pp. 247, 268; *Grimbald'* (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 536 (AD 1214); *Grimbaldum* (acc.) Pauncefot (Dev.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 574 (AD 1272) = *Grumbaldi* (gen.) Pauncefot Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 326; *Grimbald* the knight CCR II p. 442 (AD 1294); Roberti *Grimbald* (Ess.) Pipe Roll I pp. 4, 9; *Grymbald* (surname, Cumberl.) Hist. Pap. p. 407 (AD 1349); *Grimbaud* ESC p. 51 (AD 1124—30), CMR I p. 440 (AD 1244) = *Grumbaud* ibid. II p. 12.; *Grymbaud* (surname) Chr. Petr. p. 143; *Grimboll* (surname) RH II p. 168, etc.; the pl. n. *Grimboldes essa* ('*Grimbold's Ash*') AC p. 81 (AD 1183)[4].

OG *Grimbald*, *Grimbold*, etc. F 670. The first member (ON and OE *grīma* 'Helm') does not occur in native p. ns. but is suggestive of OG or ON origin; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 50. For the second member see *Albod(o)*. Cf. further Bardsley pp. 338, 342 (under *Gribble* and *Gumboil*) and *Grimwald* below[5].

Grimbert, *Grimber* (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 132; *Grymbard* (surname) Pt. Y. p. 5.

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[1] Cf. Hist. Ab. II p. 50: "... primus abbas Faritius, secundus *Grimbaldus*, uterque gentis et linguæ unius ..." Faritius was a Tuscan of Arezzo.

[2] Probably the same person.

[3] Cf. FNC IV p. 85.

[4] In this connection I take the opportunity of pointing out that *Grunulfus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 133 is not = **Grunwulf*, as Searle suggests, but an error for *Grimolfus* (ibid. p. 132), for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 52.

[5] The *u* of *Grumbald* is to be explained as AN; cf. Stimming p. 186.

OG *Grimbert* ('öfters') F 670 f. For the members see *Grimbald* and *Adalbert;* for *-bard* see *Isenbard.* No ON equivalent occurs; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 51.

***Grimmund:** *Grimmundo* (abl.) abbate Wincelcumbe Hist. Ab. II p. 105.

OG *Grimund* (= **Grim-mund*) F 672, OF *Grimon(d)* Mackel p. 148[1]. For the members see *Grimbald* and *Claremunda.*

Grimwald mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan, Eadmund) Grueber pp. 91, 95, 102, 123; *Grimold* Inq. Eliens p. 520.

OG *Grimwald, Grimald,* etc. (common) F 672 f. For the members see *Grimbald* and *Ansoldus.* A confusion of *Grimbald* with *Grimwald* has taken place in some cases: *Grimoudi* (gen.) de Plasseiz RB p. 645 (AD 1133) = *Grimbald* of Plessis (see *Grimbald*); *Grimbaldus* medicus (above) appears as *Grimaldus* medicus Cal. Doc. p. 287; Willielmo *Grimbaldo* ibid. p. 337 = Guillielmo *Grimaud* ibid. p. 284. For the pl. n. *Grimoldby* see Bardsley p. 339 and Björkman, Pers. p. 52.

Grimward de Cuthmund Rot. Obl. p. 6 (AD 1199); *Grimwardus* CR I p. 494 (AD 1222); Roberti (gen.) *Grimward* (Linc.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 24 (AD 1247); Joh'is (gen.) *Grimward* (Suff.) ibid. p. 529 (AD 1271).

OG *Grimward, Grimwart* ('öfters') F 673, OF *Grimoart, Grimouart* Langlois p. 300. For the members see *Grimbald* and *Beluard.* No ON equivalent is on record.

Guascher, see **Wasger.*

Gudramius, see *Gotheram.*

Guederan, see **Wederan.*

Guerlin, see **Werlin.*

Guerrina, see **Werrina.*

Guinda, see **Winda.*

Gulbert, see **Wulfbert.*

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[1] Cf. O Swed. *Grimunson,* Lundgren p. 71, thought to be identical with *Grimelson* or from *Grimmund* or *Gridhmund.*

Gulferedus, see **Wulfred.*

Guncelin, see **Gunzelin.*

***Guncolda:** *Guncoldam* (acc.) (wife of John Mauduit) Abbr. Plac. pp. 60, 74, 82 (John).

Cf. *Gontalda* (Rom.) F 710. For the first member see the following name. *Gunc-* is probably (cf., however, Luhmann p. 44) < *Gunz-* (a hypochoristic form of *Gund-*, see **Gunzelin*) occurring in the likewise secondary formation *Gunzwin* F 713; cf. also Socin p. 178. In AN, *c* is sometimes used also before *o* to denote *ts*. Cf. Menger p. 98. The second member is assumed by F to be *-walda*, a fem. form of the name-element *-wald*, see *Ansoldus*. It seems equally likely that the present name is an OF variant of OG *Gundhild* (F 703). Cf. *Iseldis.*

Gundbert mon. (St. Eadmund), *Gundibertus* mon. (Sihtric), *Gundberht* mon. (Eadw. the Elder) Keary pp. 118, 230, Grueber p. 83; Leodegar *Gunbert* (Windsor) RLP p. 174 (AD 1216).

OG *Gundibert, Gundbert* (common), *Gunbert*, etc. F 699 f. The first member is OHG *gund-* (OE *gūþ*, ON *gunnr*) 'Kampf'; for the second member see *Adalbert.*

Gundferð, *Geundferð* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 132.

OG *Gund(e)frid, -fred* F 700. For the first member cf. the preceding name; for the second member see *Gerferð.* The same name is *Cundferð* Grueber p. 122.

Gundi: Henr' *Gundi* (Bedf.) RH II p. 322 (Edw. I.); Will's *Gundi* (Hunt.) ibid. p. 622; Joh's *Gundy* (Yorks.) Inq. Non. p. 219.

Cf. OG *Gundi* (F 694), for which see Socin p. 182. It seems rather probable, however, that the above name is < ON *Gunni* (Björkman, Pers. p. 56, Namenk. p. 40), influenced by the continental name-element *Gund-*. Cf. also Nielsen p. 34.

Gundlaf BCS 648 (AD 925—41).

This might be an Anglicized form of OG *Gundleip, Cundleip* F 705. But it seems most probable that it is <

ON *Gunnleifr* with incertion of *d* between *n* and *l* or influenced by continental *Gund-* as Björkman (Pers. p. 57) suggests. Cf. also *Gonelaphi* (gen.), a Dane Lib. Hyde p. 119 and the pl. n. *Gunlovestun* Plac. p. 80 (John).

***Gundolus:** *Gundolum* (acc.) RC p. 30 (AD 1199).

OG *Gundulus* (F 695), a dim. form of *Gund-* (see *Gundbert*) by means of the suff. *-ulus*, for which see *Ebulo* above.

Gundrada ("daughter of Matilda by her first husband Gerbod of St. Bertin at St. Omer and wife of William of Warren") FNC III pp. 86, 647. Her name appears as *Gundreda* KC pp. 35, 38, *Gondreda* Ann. Waverl. p. 235, *Gundre* comitissa LVD p. 98. *Gundrede* (dat.) sorori MRS p. 22; *Gundreda* uxor KC p. 10; *Gundreda* (daughter of Albreda, sister of Robert le Flemeng) Chr. Petr. p. 78, *Gundreda* de Attleburg Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 530 (AD 1271); *Gundreda* (wife of Radulf de Bray) RH I p. 92, etc.: see further Bardsley p. 343[1].

OG *Gundrada* etc. F 707 f. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Albreda*. It is possible that some of the above forms may be of ON origin (OSwed. *Gunridh*) as Björkman, Namenk. p. 40, suggests.

As regards the male form *Gundred*, it is certainly correctly explained by Björkman, Pers. p. 57, as *Gunred* with insertion of *d*[2].

***Gundran**, *Gondran* (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 330.

OG *Gundramnus*, *Gundran*, *Guntran* F 703 f., OF *Gondran* Langlois p. 292. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Bertram*.

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[1] *Gundrie* LVD p. 104 is perhaps = *Gundre* with AN *ie* for *ē*. Cf. Stimming p. 176. It might also be < **Gundric*.

[2] Cf. Gesta Hammaburg. Eccl. Pontificum I: 41 (quoted from Pauli, Karl der Grosse): "Dani in locum ipsius *Gundredum* constituerunt", and ibid. II: 22: "Anglia autem, ut supra diximus et in Gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem *Gundredi* a filiis ejus Analaph, Sigfrich et Reginald per annos fere centum permansit in ditione Danorum".

Gundreda, see *Gundrada.*

***Gundric,** *Gundricus*, CMR II p. 61 (AD 1100—13).

OG *Gundericus*, etc. F 708, OF *Gondri* Langlois p. 293. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Albericus.*

Gundulf, *Gundulfus* (Glouc., Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 135, 333; *Gundulfus, Gondulfus* (Rofensis episcopus)[1] Cal. Doc. pp. 436, 503, Ann. Wint. p. 32 (AD 1077).

OG *Gundulf, Gundolf* (common) F 711 f. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Adelulfus.* The ON equivalent *Gunnulf* also occurs in England, see Björkman, Pers. p. 58.

Gundwi LVD p. 48.

OG *Gundivicus, Gundewic, Gundwig*, etc. F 710 f. For the members see *Gundbert* and **Herewig.*

Gundwine BCS 1008 (AD 957); *Gonduinus* (Ess.), *Gonduinus* camerarius (Suff.), *Gundvinus* granetarius (Wilts.), *Gunduinus* (Wilts., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 428, 432, II p. 333; *Gunduinus* LVD p. 8 (12th or 13th c.); *Gundewin* (Buck.) Fines I p. 245 (John); *Gundewyn'* de Nethergate (Suff.) RH II pp. 166, 184 (Edw. I.); *Gundwin* Pistor Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 24 (AD 1219); *Gundewino* (obl.) MRS p. 51; *Gundewin, Gundwyne* (surnames) CR II p. 126 (AD 1226), Inq. Non. p. 206; Gerald *Gundwyne* = Gerald *Gunwine* RH II p. 166, etc.

OG *Gund(e)win* (very common) F 711. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Amalwin.* Cf. Bardsley p. 343 and Björkman, Pers. p. 56. Does the surname *Gundein* CR II p. 62 (AD 1225) belong here or is it = *Gundin* (cf. *Gundin* F 695); cf. *Gozelin* p. 129.

Gunsalinus, see *Gunzelin.*

Guntard: *Guntardus* (Som., Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; Walterus *Guntard* (Norf.) RCR II p. 187 (AD 1200); the same person is probably Walterus *Guncard* (Norf.) RH I p. 500 (Edw. I.).

OG *Gundard, Guntard* F 701 f., Waltemath p. 24, OF *Gontart* Langlois p. 293. For the members see *Gundbert*

[1] Cf. FNC III p. 33, AS Chr. p. 289.

and **Actard*. *Gonhard* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 130 is certainly identical with *Gonnar* (Dev.) ibid., for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 54. For the form *Guncard* cf. **Guncolda* above.

Guntelin, see *Gunzelin*.

Gunter: *Guntere* mon. (Aethelstan II.) Keary p. 96; *Gunter* mon. (Eadw. the Elder) Grueber p. 83; *Gunterum* (acc.) Liniet KCD 795 (AD 1051); *Gonther* (Dev.), *Gunter* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 330, 333; *Gunterus* fil' Berenger' Winton DB p. 558; *Gunter* heredes ibid. p. 553; *Gunter* LVD p. 49, RC p. 221 (AD 1216), Fines I p. 303; *Gunterus* canonicus Linc. Obit. p. 154; *Gunter* Havelok v. 2606; Richardus *Gunter* CG II p. 86, III p. 240; *Gunter* (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 245, CMR II p. 313, RH II p. 701, FA V p. 157, *Gontarus* Exon. DB p. 419; *Gunter* Gutere de Hyspañ CR I p. 121 (AD 1212); *Gonter* (surname) FA V p. 274; *Cunter* (surname) Test. Nev. p. 238; further instances are given by Bardsley, p. 343.

OG *Gunter*, *Gonter* (Rom.) F 702, OF *Gontier* Langlois p. 294. For the members see *Gundbert* and *Aeðelhere*. Cf. Binz p. 203.

***Gunzelin:** *Guncelinus*[1] Winton DB pp. 545, 554. LVH pp. 39, 66; *Guntscelin'* MRS p. 64: *Guncelin'* RCR II p. 238 (AD 1200); *Guncelini* (gen.) de Badelem'e Plac. p. 352 = *Guntelino* (dat.) de Badelesmere Rot. Orig. I pp. 26, 27, 30; *Goncelin* RC p. 7 (AD 1199); *Gunsalinus* Martini CPR I p. 196 (AD 1285).

OG *Gunzelin* (OF *Goncelin*, *Gonsellin*, Langlois p. 293) and *Guntelin* (F 695, 697), dim. forms of the hypochoristic names *Gunzo* and *Gunto* (< *Gund-*, see *Gundbert*). *Gunsalinus* perhaps stands for *Gunsalmus*, for which see Bruckner p. 83.

Gurlind LVD p. 8 (12th or 13th c.).

Cf. OG *Girlindis* (Rom.) < *Gerlind* F 582. For the members see *Gerald* and *Godelent*. *Gur-* for *Gir-* would be an AN spelling. Or = **Guerlind* < OG *Warlind* (F 1535)?

[1] = *Guncel̃* ibid. pp. 554, 558, 559.

Gurred, see *Wulfred*.

Gutier: Ferando (obl.) *Gutier* Rot. Fin. p. 486 (AD 1213).

Probably identical with OF *Gotier* < *Gotharius* (Kalbow p. 134) for which see *Godehar* above. It is possible that the surname *Gutere* (see under *Gunter*) is the same name.

Gyreweard, see **Gerward*.

Gyric, see *Ger(r)ic*.

H.

Habert, see *Herbert*.

Hadebrand RC p. 177 (AD 1208); *Hadebrando* (obl.) Haiward ibid.; *Hathebrand* (Dors.) Fines II p. 103; cf. also *Hadbrand* mon. (Will. II), given by Searle.

OG *Hathubrant*, *Hadebrant* etc. F 793. The first member is OHG *hadu-* (OE *heaþu-*) 'Kampf'; for the second member see *Aeðelbrand*. Cf. Binz p. 215.

Haganild LVD p. 32; *Hagenild* uxor ibid. p. 50; *Hagenild* (Surr.) RCR I p. 295 (AD 1199), II pp. 75, 94; *Haghenild* RC p. 132 (AD 1204); *Hagenilda* CCR III p. 429 (AD 1320), etc.

This name is missing in OE and not recorded till the end of the 12th cent.; nor does it seem to have existed on the continent. It seems rather probable, therefore, that it is a hybrid formation, as Binz (p. 195) suggests: "Einen frauennamen *Hagenild*, der mit seiner zusammensetzung aus dem namen von vater und tochter der Hildesage seine entstehung zu verdanken scheint (vgl. jedoch Förstemann 1, 577 die mit *Hagan-* beginnenden namen) finden wir in LV . . .". The form *Hawenild* (e.g. RH II p. 839) exhibits the same development as OE *haȝa* > ME *hawe*. As regards the form *Age-*

nilda MRS p. 19 it is not to be determined with certainty whether it is < *Hagenilda*, which, indeed, seems most probable, or identical with **Ainilda* (above); cf. the Latinized form *Agenulfus* by the side of *Ainulf* (under *Aginulfus* above)[1].

Hagar, Hager, see *Harger*.

***Hagebert**, *Haiebert* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119; *Hagebertus*, *Haghebertus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

OG *Hagabert*, *Hagibert*, etc. F 716. The first member is probably OHG *hag* 'Einfriedigung, Wald' (cf. OE *haȝa* and *heȝe*) and is not met with in native OE p. ns. The form *Haie-* is due to WF-Rom. influence and in the present case a phonetical criterion. For the second member see *Adalbert*.

Hagheburnus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 431; the form *Ghebur-nus* (Ess.) ibid. II p. 439 is no doubt the same name, not = **Hygebeorn*, as Searle suggests.

The etymon is an unrecorded **Hagabern*[2]. For the members see **Hagebert*, *Fredebernus* and F 259 where numerous OG p. ns in *-bern* are given. Concerning the spelling *-burn*, see **Erlwin*(*e*).

Hago, see the following name.

Hagona, *Hagana*, *Hagena*, *Haguna* BSS 42, 78, 81, 87, 89, 97, 99, 102, 108 (AD 676—704), probably denoting one and the same person[3].

Apart from the above forms[4] there seem to be no traces

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[1] The forms *Haenild* RH II p. 161 and *Hanild* LVD p. 83 (13th c.) are perhaps derived from **Ainild* (above).

[2] The p. n. *Hagbarn*, *Hagebarnus* adduced by Stark p. 43 seems to contain as its second member OHG *barn* 'Kind'.

[3] The variant *Hagani* (gen.) BCS 45 (AD 679) is, if not merely a mistake, a Latinized form of *Hagan*, also recorded by F 718. The same name is probably also *Hagonus* (prepositus regis, Norf.), Ellis, Intr. I p. 431. A short form of this name is *Hago* occurring ibid.; cf. Stark p. 43.

[4] And the epic name *Hagenan* (gen.), Waldere II, 15, where it is the name of a Burgundian, and *Hagena* (weold Holm-Rygum) Widsiþ v. 21.

of this name till DB and later records[1], where it occurs in several instances given by Binz (p. 193). It seems most probable that the name of the monk and abbot of the 7th c. and the later examples from the 11th c. are originally strange to OE pers. nomenclature and in most cases to be derived from OG *Hagano, Hageno*[2], etc. F 718 (OF *Hag(h)enon, Haguenon*, Langlois p. 322 f.). But it seems rather uncertain whether the occurrence of this name in England is in any single case to be ascribed to the knowledge of the legend of Hild as Binz assumes. I am more inclined to think that it has been introduced by foreigners, some of whom may also have been Norsemen (cf. the name *Hagene* Ellis, Intr. II p. 139 and Björkman, Namenk. p. 42); the latter assumption would account for the appearance of this name in Yorkshire, in which circumstance Binz sees "einen vollgiltigen beweis für die verbreitung der Hildesage" in that county. — The forms *Hayn(e), Hein* (e. g. *Hayne* FY pp. 52, 86, Inq. Non. p. 60, *Hayn* RH I p. 535, *Haynesson* alias *Hayn* FY p. 102, *Hein* RLP p. 70, RH I p. 35)[3] are in most cases to be derived from the same etymon; it should be noticed, however, that there is not seldom in AN an interchange of final *m* and *n* (see Stimming p. 215), whence *Hayn, Hein* may have been confused with *Haym, Heym* (see *Haimo*).

Haiebert, see **Hagebert*.

***Haimard**, *Haimardus* (Buck.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

OG *Heimhart, Heimard, Aimard* (Rom.) F 732. The first member is perhaps **haim-* 'glänzend' (OE *Hæm-*), see Bruckner p. 100, Müller p. 105; besides, OHG *heim* (OE *hām*) 'Heim' was certainly also used as a name-element. For the second member see **Actard*.

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[1] The pl. ns adduced by Binz are not conclusive, since they are likely to contain the OE appellative *haza;* cf. Middendorff p. 62.

[2] *Hagan-* is probably related to MHG *behagen* 'frisch, freudig'. For the side-form *Hegin-* see Wessén (in Språkv. Sälls. Förh., Upsala 1913—15, p. 89).

[3] Cf. also the NF ack. form *Haynon* (Abbr. Plac. p. 299).

***Haimelin,** see *Hamelin*.

Haimer: *Haimerus* (Dev.); *Haimerus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 139, 334; *Haimer* (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 119.

Cf. OG *Heimersdorf* and Mod. G *Heimer*, *Heymer*[1]. It is probable, however, that *Haimer* is merely a variant of *Aimar* (above). In Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 99 *Heimerum* (acc.) is identical with *Emericum*.

***Haimeric,** ***Hameric,** ***Aimeric** etc.: *Haimericus* presbyter KCD 754 (AD 1020—30); *Haimericus* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 432; *Haimericus*, *Haymericus* LVD pp. 85, 104 (13th c.); *Heimeric* de Clive RC p. 22 (AD 1199); *Haimericus* CMR III p. 227; *Heymeric* CR I p. 21 (AD 1205); *Hamericus* Hist. Ab. II p. 16 (AD 1100—35); *Aimericus* clericus Ann. Wint. p. 121 (AD 1276); *Aimerico* (obl.) of Bordeaux CR I p. 453 (AD 1221); *Eymerico* (obl.) de Clerevaus ibid. p. 426 (AD 1220); *Eymericus* monetarius ibid. p. 241 (AD 1215), etc.

OG *Haimerich* (common), *Heimeric*[2] F 733, OF *Aimeri* Langlois p. 12. The form *Hamericus* is due either to a reduction of pretonic *ai* > *a*, or to the influence of OE *Hām-*. Further, its etymon may be OG *Hăm-* (cf. F 743 f.), for which see Schönfeld p. 126 and the literature mentioned by him. Cf. also *Amalric*, *Emericus* and *Henric*.

Haiminc (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 139, 334.

OG *Heiminc*[3], *Aiming* (Rom.) and the pl. n. *Heimingesbach* F 732. It is possible that *Haminc* (homo regis E.), *Hamingus* (teignus r. E.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 140 is the same name (*Haminc* ibid. pp. 140, 334 is = *Haiminc* above). Cf. also OG *Haming* F 744.

Haimo, Aymo, Heimo, Hamo, Haim, Haym, Heym: *Hamo* dapifer[4] (Ess.), *Hamo* seu *Haimo* vicecomes[5] (Kent, Suff.),

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[1] For the members cf. **Haimard* and *Aeðelhere*.

[2] For the etymology of the members see **Haimard* and *Albericus*.

[3] A patronymic of *Haimo* (below).

[4] = *Hamone*, *Haimone* dapifero Hist. Ab. II pp. 59, 66.

[5] The same person as the before-mentioned; cf. Ellis, ibid. foot-note and FNC III p. 314.

Haimo (Wilts., Dors.), *Hamo* (Chesh., Suff.), *Hamon* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 432, II pp. 334, 335; *Hamo* de Valoines Rot. Canc. p. 135; *Hamo* de Gyronde (Dover) RB p. 97 (AD 1196—97); *Heimo* (abbas de Beillande) LVD p. 112; *Haimo* (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 455 (AD 1220); *Hamo* de Pidele LVD p. 98 (13th c.); *Hamo* filius Burdun RB p. 399 (AD 1166); *Haimo* Brito Cart. Eynsh. I p. 98; *Hamoni* (dat.) priori de Wenlok Plac. p. 678 = *Aymoni* (dat.) priori de Wenlok ibid.; *Aymo* Thurberd (Yorks.) CCR I p. 403 (AD 1252); *Aymo* de Carto Beverley I p. 6 (AD 1304); *Hamo* de Mascy CCR III p. 411 (AD 1318); Walterus *Haym* CG I p. 195; *Haym* (surname) RH I p. 101 (Edw. I.); *Haim* = *Hamo* CR I pp. 259, 284 (AD 1216); Walter *Heym* CCR I p. 273 (AD 1242), etc.[1]

OG *Haimo*, *Heimo*, *Aimo* (Rom.), Mod. G *Heim(e)* F 731, hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Haim-*, see **Haimard*. The equivalent OF forms are *Haimon*, *Aimon*, *Haim* and *Aymes* (Langlois pp. 13 f., 323). As regards the OF form *Hamon*, it might be < OG *Hamo* (F 743), but in view of the fact that this name is comparatively rare, it seems probable that *Hamon* is < *Haimon* with OF transition of pretonic *ai* > *a* : "Bei vocalisch schliessender Silbe oder bei *-us* bleibt der Ton, konsonantisch schliessende Silbe bekommt den Ton"[2]. Hence *Haímo — Haimón* : *Hamón*. From the obl. cases *a* was then introduced into the nom. case. Most of the instances of *Hamo* found in DB and later records are certainly due to NF influence, since OE *Hama* is very rare; cf. Binz p. 212[3]. *Haim* is the regular OF form of *Haimo* with apocopation of the final *-o*. It seems probable that

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[1] Cf. also *Haimo* Dentatus, a Norman, FNC II p. 246.

[2] Kalbow p. 27.

[3] In later times, *Hamon* and *Hamund* (see Björkman, Pers. p. 63) have certainly coalesced in the form *Hammond*. Incorrect is Weekley's statement (p. 74) that "*Hammond* is etymologically *Haganmund*".

this name enters into the pl. n. *Haimeston* RCR II p. 62 (AD 1199)[1].

***Hain(e), Hayn(e), Hein,** see *Hagona*.

Haitele LVD p. 110.

Binz (p. 196) identifies this name with German *Hetele* (*ai* for *e* would be a Norman spelling) and Björkman, Pers. p. 36, compares it with ON *Eitill*. The circumstance that the following name in LVD, *Helkene*, is of German provenience might perhaps be adduced in favour of explaining *Haitele* as continental. But in such case, its etymon is rather OG *Heidilo, Heittelo* (Mod. G *Heidel*) < *Haid-* + dim. *-ilo* (F 725).

Halanant (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334.

The second member points to continental origin, see *Elinant*. *Hala-* most probably stands for *Ala-* (cf. **Alebrand*). The present name is perhaps merely a variant of *Elinant*.

Halebrandin, see **Alebrand*.

Halewis(a), see *Helewis*.

Halsard, see **Alsard*.

Hamelin (Dev., Cornw., Yorks.), *Hamelin* (homo Hugonis, Linc.), *Hamelinus* (Suss., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 334; *Hamelinus* de Balun RB p. 281 (AD 1166); *Hamelinus* de Gundeville (Glouc.) ibid. p. 292; *Hamelinus* de Chesney Cart. Eynsh. I p. 86; *Hamelinus* Exon. DB pp. 59, 63, 183, 189, 197, 203, 211, 212, 213, 214, 230, 231, 244, 470; Durant *Hamelin* FA I p. 471; *Haimmelinus* Exon. DB p. 91, etc.; see further Archiv 123 p. 34.

Cf. *Haimelin* and *Hamelin* (F 731, 744), dim. forms of *Haimo* or *Hamo* (see *Haimo* above).

***Hameric,** see *Haimeric*.

Hamo, see *Haimo*.

***Hardelin,** *Hardelino* (dat.) de la Mue CR II p. 113 (AD 1226).

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[1] According to Lindkvist (p. 63), ON *Heimir* forms the first member of the pl. n. *Heimesbei*.

A NF dim. form of OG **Hardo, Ardo* (Rom.) F 752, hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hard-* (OHG *hart*, OE *heard*, 'hart').

***Harduin,** *Harduinus* de Escalers (Cambr.), *Hardeuuinus* (homo Walchel̃, Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 314, 335.

OG *Hardwin, Hartwin*[1] etc. ("Sehr häufig, namentlich auf westfränk. Gebiete") F 759, OF *Harduïn* Langlois p. 326. It is probable that *Arduinus* (= *Harduinus*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 41 is also of continental origin, though a native equivalent *Hearduini* is recorded in LV.

Harger mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 117; *Heriger*[2] mon. (Eadwig, Eadgar) ibid. pp. 161, 180, 181; *Harcer* de Lincolia Chr. Petr. p. 165.

OG *Hariger, Harger, Harker, Heriger, Hereger*[3], etc. F 769 f. Whether the pl. n. *Heregeres* heafod BCS 1289 (a late charter) contains the same p. n. or an OE equivalent **Heregar* is impossible to determine. As regards *Hagar* LVD p. 49, *Hagar* (surname) RH II pp. 60, 61, *Hager* (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 54, etc., they are most probably from **Hargar, Harger*, with dissimilatory loss of the first *r*. Cf. also *Habert, Hebert* (under *Herbert*).

Haringod, see **Arngot*.

Harman, see *Her(e)man*.

Harneys, see *Ernegis*.

Harsent, see *Hersent*.

Hartald, Hertald, Artald, Ertald: *Hertaldus* (S. Trinitatis, Midd.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 414, II p. 337; *Ertald* Cal. Doc. p. 426 (AD 1091); *Artald(us)* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 66, CCR II pp. 473, 520 (AD 1270, 1298); (quidam Provencialis) *Hartaldus* Ann. Dunst. p. 194 (AD 1254); *Hurtaud* (surname) CCR I p. 418 (AD 1253), II p. 51 (AD 1264), etc.

OG *Hardolt*[4], *Artald* (Rom.), *Hertald* (Rom.) F 758, OF

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[1] For the members see **Hardelin* and *Amalwin*.

[2] = *Aeriger* mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 144.

[3] For the members see *Aeðelhere* and *Amelger*.

[4] For the members see **Hardelin* and *Ansoldus*.

Hertaut, *Artaut* Langlois pp. 49, 340. On the transition of *ar* > *er*, see *Arnald;* for *ur* < *er*, see *Hurogunda*. OE **Heard-weald* is not on record, but even if existant, it cannot be the etymon of the above forms, on account of the *t* < *d*, for wich cf. Kalbow p. 134.

Hartmari mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119.

OG *Hartmar*, *Artmar* (Rom.) F 756. For the members see *Hartald* and *Aelismer*. No OE equivalent is on record.

Haselin, see *Azelin*.

Hathewisa, *Hathawisa*, *Hathewis*, *Hatheuuis(a)*, *Hawis(ia)*, *Hawysa*, *Awise* LVD pp. 19, 23, 50, 51, 55, 60, 68, 73, 82, 95, 103, 104, 108, 142; *Hawisa* Hist. Ab. II p. 305; *Hawysa* comitissa RM I p. 432; *Hathewis* CMR I p. 132 (AD 1130); *Hadwis* (wife of Thomas de Bauis) Ped. Fin. II p. 56 (AD 1197); *Hawisa* KC p. 6; *Hawisia* (uxor Rogeri) ibid. p. 70; *Hauisa* vidua ibid. p. 69; *Hawis* de Dinan CR I p. 169 (AD 1214); further instances are found in Björkman, Namenk. p. 41 and Bardsley pp. 69, 366 (under *Aves* and *Hawes*).

OG *Hadvid*, Latinized *Hadewidis, Hawidis*, etc. F 797 f. For the members see *Hadebrand* and *Alweis*. The forms *Auiza* LVD pp. 53, 102, *Avisia*, *Avicia* ibid. pp. 62, 64, 112, 124, 131 are perhaps Latinized variants of this name (influenced by *Adeliza*, *Athelisa*, *Alicia* etc.), although the OF forms *Avice, Avisse* (derived by Kalbow p. 128 < LG *Abizza*) are of course also to be taken under consideration.

Hawenild, see *Haganild*.

Heanric, see *Henric*.

Heilewis, see *Helewis*.

Heimfrid, Heinfrid de Criketot (Suff.) RCR II pp. 6, 10 (AD 1199).

OG *Haimfrid* F 732 and *Heinfrid* ibid. 719, OF *Hainfroi* Langlois p. 323. F explains the first member of *Haimfrid* < *Haim-* (see **Haimard* above) and of *Heinfrid* < *Hagin-* (see *Hagona*). It will, however, be difficult to keep them distinct on account of the transition of *m* > *n* before *f*, for which see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 76. And in AN, the conditions

grow still more complicated; cf. Stimming p. 215, Burghardt p. 108. For the second member see *Amelfrid.*

Heinric, see *Henric.*

Helbodo (et frater ejus Baldewinus) CG I p. 286.

The OG etymon is either *Hildibodo, Hiltbod, Hilbod, Helbod*[1] (with OF *e* < *i*) F 825 f., or *Ellebod, Elbot*[2] (< **alja-*), from which latter name the form *Heliboto* F 738 is probably to be derived. *Hel-* might further be from OHG *heil,* see *Helewis.*

Heldalt mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 107.

OG *Helidold* (F 742) or *Hildold* (F 837) < **haliþ-* (OS *helith,* OE *hæleþ* 'Held') and *hild-*, see the preceding name. For the second member see *Ansoldus;* the final *t* < *d* is WF.

Heldebrand, see *Hildebrand.*

Helebrand, see *Hildebrand.*

Helewis (neptis Eruasti episcopi, Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 141; *Helewis(a), Heluwisa, Helewisia* LVD pp. 17, 97, 101, 102, 107, 110, 140; *Helewys* RM I p. 148, II pp. 133, 144, 145; *Helewis* Rot. Fin. p. 237 (AD 1204), KC pp. 36, 123; *Helewis* (uxor Thoki) ibid. p. 131; *Helewis* Darel Rot. Fin. p. 218 (AD 1204); *Helwisiæ* (gen.) Beverley I p. 373 (AD 1319); Willelmi (gen.) *Helewys,* Matilda *Helewys* RM II p. 145; *Eluis* LVD p. 55; *Heilewise* (dat.) Pipe Roll III p. 21; *Heilewis* (Buck.) RCR II p. 248 (AD 1200); further instances are found in Björkman, Namenk. p. 42, foot-note 3, and Bardsley p. 272 (under *Elwes*).

Helewidis, Helvidis, Helvis F 729, OF *Heluïs, Heloïs* Langlois p. 329 f. This name has been made the subject of a detailed investigation by Schultz (p. 180 ff.), who derives it from *Heilwidis,* of which the first member is OHG *heil* (OE *hāl*) 'heil'. For the second member see *Alweis*[3].

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[1] For the members see **Ainild* and *Anderboda.*

[2] Cf. F 81.

[3] It is not to be determined whether *Halewis* Abbr. Plac. p. 35, *Halewisa* Rot. Canc. p. 58, is a variant of *Helewis(a)* or < **Alwis* (see *Alweis* above).

Helgot (Dev., Buck., Staff.), *Helgod* (Shropsh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; *Helgot* MRS p. 160, RC p. 195 (AD 1213), CRC p. 34 (Hen. III), CCR I p. 33 (AD 1227).

Cf. OG *Helgaud* (OF *Helgot* Langlois p. 329) < *Hildegaud*, *Hildegot*, *Hilgot* F 829. For the members see *Helbodo* and *Aingot*. It is not certain whether there is any relation between *Helgot* and *Halgot* (e. g. *Halgoti*, gen., LVD p. 31, *Halegod*, surname, CCR I pp. 300, 301, AD 1246, etc.) < *Algot*, for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 3; cf. the interchange of the phonems *al* and *el* that is to be noticed especially in DB.

Helisent, see *Elisent*.

Helrandus, see *Hildebrand*.

Helto, Heltus: *Helto* (Kent, Buck.), *Heltus* dapifer (Kent), Ellis, Intr. II p. 335; *Helto* Cal. Doc. pp. 530, 531 (AD 1087—1100); *Helto* (filius Willelmi de Arches) RB p. 432 (AD 1166); *Helto* (constabularius of Baieux) ibid. p. 647 (AD 1133); *Helto* de Rovecestria ibid. p. 422 (AD 1166); (Joce, son of) *Helta* (fem.?) CCR I p. 317 (AD 1247); *Helto* de Faucillon RLP p. 165 (AD 1216) = *Heltus* de Faucillon CCR I p. 108 (AD 1230); *Helto* MRS p. 66; *Helto* de Snelleslund CCR II p. 397 (AD 1291); *Helte* Rot. Canc. p. 220, RB p. 190, etc.

OG *Helto* (F 740) derived from *Helido* < **haliþ-*, for which see *Heldalt* above. An OE equivalent is found in **Hæleþa* (æt *Hæleþan* þam þegene, Thorpe p. 354, AD 1044). The etymon of the above forms might, however, very well be OG *Hildo*, *Hilto* (F 821), hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hild-* (see **Ainild*). *Heltus* is due to an OF form **Helt* with regularly apocopated final *-o*. — The name *Hente* LVD pp. 32, 106 is no doubt = **Heute* < *Helte;* cf. Willelmus filius *Hentœ*, *Hente*, *Hent*, *Heltonis* RB pp. 35, 48, 70, 96, 135.

Henaud LVD p. 8.

OG **Heinald*, *Heinold* (Mod. G *Heinold*) F 719, > OF *Henaut* Langlois p. 330. For the members see *Hagona* and *Ansoldus*.

Hengebald, see **Engelbald*.

Henric, Heinric: *Henrico* (dat.) KCD 579 (AD 973); *Haenricus* BCS 1297 (AD 973); *Henricus* (filius Azor, Bedf.), *Henricus* Thesaurarius (Hants.), *Henricus* (Norf.), *Henricus* alter (Berks.), *Henricus* dapifer (Berks.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, II pp. 142, 336; *Henri, Heanri* (of Poitou, Abbot of Peterborough) AS Chr. 1123 E; *Henri, Heanri* (= *Henry* of Blois) ibid. 1056 E; *Heinrice* casere (= *Henry* II) ibid. 1066 D; *Henricus, Heinricus* rex Francorum (= *Henry* I of France) ibid. 1060 E; *Henric, Heanrig, Henrig, Henri* (= *Henry* I) ibid. 1085, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1113, etc.; *Henricus* LVD pp. 2, 3, 7, 21, 45, 46, 52, 53, 60, 63, 64, 65, 68, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89; *Heinric(us)* ibid. pp. 44, 54; *Henr'* Le Flemeng (North.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 20 (AD 1247); *Hainric* de Cornhull RCR I p. 14 (AD 1194); *Henriche* (surname) RH II p. 724; *Henery* (surname) ibid. I p. 218; *Hendrich* (surname) ibid. II p. 417; *Herry* Walker LVD p. 128 (15th c.); see further Bardsley pp. 361, 374.

OG *Heinric, Henric*[1] F 734, OF *Henri* Langlois p. 330 ff. The form *Henri(c)* has in most cases been introduced from Normandy and France but is also sometimes of LG origin. *Heanri(g)* is to be explained with Behrens (p. 97) as a reverted spelling after OE *ea* had become *ę*. *-ig* in the above instances denotes the *ī* of OF *Henrī*[2]. *Herry*, the prototype of NE *Harry*, is due to assimilation of *nr* > *rr*. — An equivalent fem. form is *Henrica* (wife of Richard Maille) State Trials p. 12.

Henrica, see the preceding name.

Hent(e), see *Helto*.

Heppo balistarius (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, FNC IV p. 215.

Cf. OG *Heppo* (Mod. G *Heppe*) F 748, 806 f., a short form of uncertain origin. From OHG *Herpert* or *Herprant*?

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[1] First member is either *Haim-*, in which case *Henric* is originally identical with **Haimeric* above, or *Hagin-*, see *Hagona*. For second member see *Albericus*.

[2] For OE *ig* > *ī* see Bülbring, Ae. Elem. § 565, 3.

Herbelinus de Burhunte Test. Nev. pp. 232, 242.

A dim. form of *Herb-* (< *Herbert* below) which has perhaps been coined in England. Analogous ME dim. forms are *Herbelet* and *Herbelot*. OG *Herbo* is assumed by F 142 to belong to **arbi* 'hereditas' but might also equally well be < *Herbert;* cf. similar instances in Stark p. 104 ff.

Herbert: *Hereberti* (gen.) episcopi Lexouiensis KCD 914 (Eadweard); *Herbertus* (Leic.), *Herbertus* camerarius (Hants.), *Herbertus* (filius Iuonis, Kent), *Herbertus* (fil. Remigii, Hants.), *Herbertus* (prefectus Regis, Bedf.), *Herbertus* forestarius (Hants.), *Herbertus* (homo Normanni de Adreci, Linc.), *Herbertus* (homo Eustachii, Hunt.), *Herbertus* (homo Odonis, Linc.), *Herbertus* (homo Juditæ Comitissæ, Hunt.), *Hereberd* fossator (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 433, II pp. 144, 336; *Herbearde*[1] (of Hiemois in Normandy, Bish. of Thetford) AS Chr. 1094 E; *Herebert(us)* LVD pp. 16, 19, 23, 46, 52, 54, 55, 56, 67, 79, 80, 102, 107; *Hereberto* (obl.) le Franceis CR I p. 505 (AD 1222); *Herbertum* (acc.) le Fleming Abbr. Plac. p. 139; *Herbert'* de Alencon (Suff.) ibid. p. 45; *Ereberd* (surname) FA V p. 266 (AD 1428), etc.

OG *Hariberct*, *Haribert*, *Her(e)bert*, *Erbert*[2], etc. (very common) F 766 f., OF *Herbert* Langlois p. 330. This name was not strange to OE personal nomenclature; cf. *Herebearht*, *Hereberct*, *Herebert*, etc. mon. (Coenwulf, Ceolwulf, Ceolnoð, etc.) Keary pp. 34, 40, 76, Grueber pp. 17, 46, 180, 220, *Herebryht* aldorman AS Chr. 838 A, etc., which instances are certainly native. But its frequency in ME records is chiefly due to its popularity with the Norman settlers in England. — The ME surnames *Hebert* (e. g. RH II p. 322) and *Heberd* (e. g. Reginaldus *Heberd*, Henric *Heberd* RH II pp. 822, 831) are < *Herbert*, *Herberd* with dissimilatory loss

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[1] Dat.

[2] For the members see *Aeðelhere* and *Adalbert*.

of *r*[1]. Similarly, the surname *Habert* (e. g. Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 503) is < **Harbert* < *Herbert*[2].

Herbrand: *Herbrandus* (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434; *Herbrand* de Pont Audemer, Hildebrand DB p. 341; *Herebrannus* (prior de Bermundeseie) Ann. Berm. p. 433 (AD 1119); (Warin' fil.) *Herebrand* (Suff.) Rot. Fin. p. 338 (AD 1206); *Herbrand* (Dean of Lincoln) CCR III p. 174 (AD 1311); *Herebrande* (nom.) Cust. p. 37; Willielmus *Herebrand* ibid.; Robertus *Herbrond* (Suff.) FA V p. 88 (AD 1346); Johannes *Herebrond* (Norf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 547 (AD 1271); the pl. ns *Herebrandston* (Pembrokeshire)[3] and *Herebrandol* (?) (Cant.) Fines I p. 310 (John).

OG *Haribrant*, *Heribrand*, *Herbrand* (very common) F 767 f. For the members see *Aeðelhere* and *Aeðelbrand*. Cf. also ON *Herbrandr* Lind 516.

Herebod de Bremen CR I p. 604 (AD 1224).

OG *Heribod* F 767. For the first member see *Aeðelhere*. The second member might be < *-baud*[4], which Meyer (IF 22, 130) explains from *-badus* with *u*-epenthesis. According to F it is a gradation-form of *biudan*. Cf. further *Anderboda* above[5].

Her(e)man: *Hereman* mon. (Eadmund, Eadgar) Grueber pp. 123, 180; *Her(e)man*, *Heriman(nus)* Wiltuniensis episcopus[6] KCD 776, 780, 781, 783, 784, 786, 787, 791, 792, 793, 796, 798, 800, etc. (AD 1042—65), AS Chr. 1043 E, 1045 C, 1046 D, 1047 E, 1049 C, 1051 D, 1077 E, 1078 D; *He-*

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[1] *Hebert* is also found in OF, see Kalbow p. 121. Bardsley's derivation of *Hebbard* < *Hubert* is wrong.

[2] Cf. such forms as *Harebald* (< *Herebald*) RH II p. 756, *Harwald* (< *Herwald*) ibid. p. 545 and *Harsent* (< *Hersent*) below.

[3] Cf. Binz p. 214.

[4] Cf. the compounds with this element given by F 250.

[5] Another source of *-bod* is *-bold*, see *Albod(o)*.

[6] = *Herman* of Lotharingia, "a chaplain of the King's, the first of the series of German or other Imperialist prelates". FNC II p. 79.

reman presbyter KCD 762, 767, Hist. Ab. I pp. 55, 450 (AD 1042, 1043); *Herman(nus)*, *Hereman* LVD pp. 13, 15, 49; *Heremannus* (Suff.), *Hermannus* Episcopus (Berks.), *Herman* (Wilts., Worc., Staff.), *Herman* (homo Gozelini, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 146, 147, 337; Exon DB pp. 4, 10, 16; *Hermannus* de Gulk, goldsmyth FY p. 108 (AD 1403); *Hereman* (surname, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 461 (AD 1267); *Harman* (surname) LVD p. 119; *Ereman* de Estland (mentioned together with Godeschalke de Estlaund) RH I p. 402; for further instances see Bardsley p. 360.

OG *Hariman*, *Her(e)man*, *Arman*, *Er(e)man*[1], etc. F 774, OF *Herman(t)* Langlois p. 334 f. This name was introduced into England from the continent, although both members exist as native name-elements. Cf. also *Ermant* above.

***Herewig**: *Herveus* (Wilts., Oxf.). *Herveus* Biturícensis (Suff.), *Herveus* cubicularius (Dors.), *Herveus* de Helion (Dev.), *Herveus* legatus (Buck.), *Herveus* de Berun (Suff.), *Herveus* (homo Comitis Alani, Nott., Linc.), *Herveus* de Ispania (Ess.), *Heruius* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434, II pp. 147, 337; *Heruius* Hist. Ab. II pp. 77, 126, 303 (AD 1100—35); *Herueus* (Pangormensis episcopus) ibid.; *Herueus*, *Herueius* LVD pp. 17, 49, 51, 63, 84, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 113, 137; *Herueus* de Arescy (Linc.) Rot. Fin. p. 581 (BD 1216); *Hervicium* (acc.), *Hervicus*, *Herveio* (dat.) de Camera (Yorks.) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 52 (AD 1202); *Herueium* (acc.) RCR I p. 284 = *Hervič* ibid. p. 308; Willelmi (gen.) *Hervei* (of Flanders) CR I p. 209 (AD 1214); *Hervi*, a common ME surname, e. g. RH II pp. 374, 384, 535, 654, etc.; see further Bardsley p. 363.

OG *Hari- Herewicus*, *Herewig*, *Her(c)veus* (Rom.) F 781 f., OF *Hervieu*, *Hervi* Langlois p. 341. For the first member see *Herbert*[2]. On the form *-veus* < *-vehus* < *-wihus* see Beitr. XVIII, 413, Wrede, Ostg. 74, Kalbow p. 30 and

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[1] For the members see *Herbert* and *Godesman*.

[2] Weekley (p. 57) wrongly derives *Hervé* < Germ. *Hartwig*.

Schönfeld p. 139 f. and literature. The forms *Herueius*, *Herveius*, the prototypes of NE *Harvey*, are probably < OF *Hervey*, which Kalbow (p. 100) explains < *Herveus* > **Herve* + "nachklingendem *i*". In *Hervicus*, *Heruius*, etc., the second member is perhaps OHG *wîg*, *wîc* (OE *wīg*) 'Kampf'. The moneyer's name *Hereuuig* (Eadmund, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 133, 156 might be native as far as its form is concerned but is better explained as continental, since it seems to be only an isolated instance of this name in England before the Conquest[1]. — Here might also belong the forms *Heruis* (de Neuill) KC p. 34, *Eruis* RCR I pp. 274, 347 (AD 1199), *Eruis* clericus ibid. II p. 136, *Ervis* ibid. p. 359 (AD 1200), etc.; cf. OF *Hervis* Langlois p. 342. It is not possible, however, to determine in which cases they are merely mistakes for *Hernis*, *Ernis*, see *Ernegis*.

Heriger, see *Harger*.

***Heringod**, see **Arngot*.

Herlebald, see *Erlebald*.

Herlinus, see **Erlin*.

Herlwin, see **Erlwin(e)*.

Hermenfrid, see *Ermenfrid*.

Hermer, *Hermerus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 434; *Hermer* (Dev.), *Hermerus* (Berks., Norf.), *Hermerus* (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) ibid. II p. 337; *Hermerus* de Ferrereis Hildebrand DB p. 335; *Hermerus* Exon DB p. 362; Inq. Eliens. p. 516; *Hermer* pr' LVD p. 13; *Hermerus* pater Abbr. Plac. p. 6; cf. also de Meisnil *Hermer* LVD p. 82.

OG *Her(e)mar*, etc. F 775. For the members see *Herbert* and *Ainmer*. No instances earlier than DB are on record in England.

Hermesent, see **Ermensent*.

Hernand, Hernant, see *Arnald*.

Herneis, see *Ernegis*.

Hernost, see **Ernost*.

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[1] Cf. also Binz p. 199.

Herry, see *Henric.*

Hersent (Norf.) RB p. 395 (AD 1166); (Goisfrido filio) *Hersendis* CCR III p. 345 (AD 1317); *Hersent, Hersand, Hersant* (surnames, Yorks.) Inq. Non. pp. 103, 244, RH I p. 134; Henricus *Harsent* (Cant.) ibid. p. 515 (Edw. I.).

OG *Herisint* (fem.) F 778, OF *Hersent, Hersant* (fem.) Langlois p. 340. For the members cf. *Herbert* and *Gersent.*

Heruis, see **Herewig.*

Herveus, Hervi, see **Herewig.*

Hescelina, see *Azelina.*

Hezelin, see *Azelin.*

Hildebrand lorimarius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 338); (duo milites Baldewinus et) *Hildebrandus* (Som.) RB p. 230 (AD 1166); *Hildebrand'* de Lubek (Norf.) Abbr. Plac. p. 213 (Edw. I.); *Hildebrand* le Mercer (Norf.) RH I p. 530; *Hildebrandus* de London Rot. Orig. II p. 38 (Edw. II.); *Hildebrandus* RH II p. 268; *Hildebrand'* de Saxon' Rot. Fin. p. 341 (AD 1206) = *Hyldebrand* RLP p. 57 (AD 1206): *Hild(e)brand* (surname) RH I pp. 290, 292, Inq. Non. p. 281; *Ildebrand* (Dors.) Abbr. Plac. p. 62 (John); *Ildebrand* in the ME Wade; *Heldebrandus* (frater Raimbaldi) Hist. Ab. II p. 19; *Heudebrant* (Wilts.) Ped. Fin. III p. 151 (AD 1198); *Hendebrand* (= **Heudebrand*) RH II p. 265; *Eldebrand* (at Melleburga) Cal. Doc. p. 358 = *Heledbrand* (at Melleburga) ibid. p. 527.

OG *Hildebrand, Ildebrand, Eldebrand*[1], etc. F 825 f. It seems probable that *Helebrand* (de Lubek) CPR I p. 43 (AD 1281) is identical with the above-mentioned *Hildebrand* (de Lubek). — As regards Binz's suggestion (p. 214) that the form *Helrandus* LVD p. 77 is < *Hildebrand* it seems more probable that it is to be traced back to OG *Hiltiram*, etc. F 831 or *Heilram* ibid. 728. Cf. also *Holdabrand* below.

***Hildiarda**, *Hildiardam* (acc.) (wife of Theobald le Bel) Abbr. Plac. p. 28.

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[1] For the members see *Helbodo* and *Aeðelbrand.*

OG *Hildigard*, *Hildiardis*, etc. F 828 f. For the members see **Ainild* and *Aldeardis*. The surname *Hildeyard* Rot. Orig. I p. 267 is probably an original pl. n.; cf. Robertus de *Hildeyerd* ibid. p. 93. Cf. further *Holdiard* below.

Hizeman Wint. DB p. 534.

OG *Hizman* (F 847), a younger compound with the hypochoristic form *Hizo*[1]. Similar OG formations are *Hicekint* and *Hizawip* for which see Socin p. 179.

***Hludowic, Lodewic, Lo(e)wis:** *Hludovicus* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 119; *Hloðewig* portgerefa BCS 1212 (AD 968); *Lodovicus* LVD p. 63; *Lodovic* de Bellomonte (Wilts.) CRC p. 134 (Edw. I.); *Lodewic* de la Pole ibid. p. 126; *Lodowic* de Bera (Lanc.) Rot. Obl. p. 196 (AD 1201); *Lodowycus* (Brancaster) CMR I p. 148; *Lodowycus* (episcopus Dunelmensis) LVD p. 151 (Obit.); *Ludowicus* de Ayketon, pellter, FY p. 72 (AD 1373); *Lothewyk* (surname) ibid. p. 160 (AD 1441); Walterus *Loewys* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 493; *Lowis* (Cornw.) Fines I p. 350; *Lowis* le Briton (Ess.) RB p. 355 (AD 1166); *Lowys* (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 441 (AD 1266), FY pp. 145, 197; Willelmus *Loweson*, wever, FY p. 177 (AD 1456); *Lewys* (surname) CRC p. 371 (Henry V), etc. Cf. Bardsley p. 480 and Yonge p. 405[2].

OG *Hludowicus*, *Hlodovicus*, *Lod(e)wicus*, etc. F 855 f., Schönfeld p. 139. The first member is **hlŭþa-*, **hlŏþa-* for which see Schönfeld p. 140, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 21, 5, Gröger p. 244 and literature there quoted. The second member is *-wih*, see *Herewig*. On the OF development see also Mackel p. 107. According to Stimming (p. 220), *Loewis* is an AN form, due to the insertion of *w* to avoid hiatus (cf. OF *Loeïs* Langlois p. 398). The remarkable ME form *Lewis* might be explained from *Loewis* with orthographical substitution of *oe* by *e*, caused by the AN interchange of *oe* and *e*, for which cf. Menger p. 52. But considering

[1] Cf. *Hizzila* = *Hiltipurch* Stark p. 84.

[2] Se further Lindkvist p. 219 f. and Björkman in Namn och Bygd (1913) p. 95.

the comparative frequency of this form it seems more likely that Bardsley and Yonge are right in their explanation of *Lewis* as an Anglicism of Welsh *Llewelyn*. Cf. also Weekley p. 46[1].

***Hodierna**, see *Odierna*.

Holdabrand LVD p. 79 (12th or 13th c.); *Houdebrandi* (gen.) CCR I p. 53 (AD 1227); *Houbrand* (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 58.

Concerning *Holdabrand* in LVD Binz (p. 214) observes that it need not have been misread or miswritten for *Hildebrand*, but may contain OG *Hold-* 'hold'. It seems most likely, however, that *Hold-* is < *Hild-* or rather < NF *Held-* with AN development of pretonic *el* > *ol*, for which see Suchier, Afrz. Gr. § 59 b.

Holdegrim (Suff.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 31 (AD 1198).

The etymon of this form is probably OG *Hildegrim* ("öfters") F 830. For the members see *Holdabrand* and *Grimbald*.

Holdiard (vetula qui *Holdiard* vocata fuit) Reg. Lib. p. 233.

Cf. *Holdagard*, placed by F (927) under **hultha-*. In the present case, however, it is perhaps an AN variant of *Hildiard* above; cf. *Holdabrand*.

Homolunch, see *Omulung*.

Houardus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339; *Owart* (surname) Duc. Lanc. p. 80.

OG *Howard*, *Howart* F 802. The first member is OHG *hôh* (OE *heah*) 'hoch'[2]. For the second member see *Beluard*. An OE equivalent is probably *Hœhward* KCD 695 (AD 996). Cf. the following name.

Huard: *Huardus* (Wilts., Hertf., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339;

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[1] The regular development of ME *Lowis* is seen in the present pronunciation of the pl. n. *Lowestoft* (*lo^{u}istoft*). The NE form *Lewis* (*ljuïs*, *luïs*) is a continuation of the corresponding ME form. The name *Louis*, sometimes met with in present English, is a French loan.

[2] Cf. also Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

Huardus Bikelega (Cornw.) RB pp. 540, 549 (AD 1210—12) = *Huwardus* de Bikelegh Test. Nev. pp. 205, 253; *Huardi* (gen., Yorks.) ibid. p. 427 (AD 1166); *Huart* de Noerel RLP p. 172 (AD 1216); *Huward* (surname) RH II p. 826, etc.

OG *Hugihard*, *Hug(h)ard* F 925, OF *Huars* Langlois p. 346. The first member is OHG *hugi*, *hugu* (OE *hyge*)[1] 'Sinn, Gedanke' or **Hūg-*, belonging to the epic name of the *Hūgas* in Beowulf. For the second member see **Actard*. The loss of *g* in the above forms is OF; cf. Mackel p. 151. The form *Huward* is due to an AN insertion of *w* to avoid hiatus; cf. **Hludowic*. — The ME surname *Hoggard* (e. g. FY p. 181) is < *hog-herd* 'swineherd'; cf. the instances in Bardsley p. 390[2].

Hubald: Hugo *Hubaldus* (Bedf.), *Huboldus* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 339; *Hubold* (surname) Wint. DB p. 552; *Hubaldus* (presbiter cardinalis) Hist. Ab. II p. 198, RM I p. 351; Askillus *Hubaldus* BB p. 30; Henr' *Hubald* RH I p. 20 (Edw. I.); *Willelmi* (gen.) *Hubaud* (Bedf.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 340 (AD 1241), etc.

OG *Hugibald*, *Hubald*, *Hubold*[3] (common) F 923. OF *Hubaut* Langlois p. 346. The loss of *g* in the above forms is either OG or OF; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Kalbow p. 140. The native equivalent is *Hyg(e)bald*, perhaps occurring in *Hybaud* (Worc.) FA V p. 309 (AD 1346), and in the

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[1] Also used as an OE name-element.

[2] *Huward* is probably the principal source of NE *Howard* (*hauəd*). Bardsley (p. 402) and after him Weekley (p. 180) explain *Howard* from *Haward* (< *Hereward*) and *Hayward* (an original surname = 'a guardian of fences'). It is difficult to see how *Haward* or *Hayward* could have given rise to the present pronunciation of *Howard*, if it is not then a spelling-pronunciation. It is possible, however, that *Haward* (which may be < *Hereward*, cf. the form *Habert* under *Herbert* above; but the p. n. *Haward*, for which see Björkman, Namenk. p. 44 f., must of course not be passed in silence) and *Hayward* have coalesced with *Huward* in the present form *Howard*.

[3] For the members see *Huard* and *Albod(o)*.

pl. n. *Hibaldstowe* (Yorks.) Inq. Non. p. 252. Hence it is impossible to determine in detail in which cases *Hubald* is continental or an AN spelling for the native form. Cf. *Hubald* = OE *Hibald* in Gaimar (Rathmann p. 48).

Hubert: *Hubertus* de Montecanisio (Suff.), *Hubertus* (Suss., Berks., Dors., etc.), *Hubertus* (homo Radulfi Pagenel, Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 454, II p. 339; *Hubert* of Rye (a Norman) FNC II p. 249; *Hubert(us)* LVD pp. 8, 50, 55, 94, 96; *Hubertus* miles, *Hubertus* (prior de Walingaford) Hist. Ab. II pp. 4, 7, 32, 104; *Hubertus* archiepiscopus Chr. Petr. p. 5 (AD 1194); *Huberto* (et sociis suis mercatoribus Senensibus) CR II p. 47 (AD 1225); Robertus *Huberd*, Ricardus *Huberd* CG I p. 238 (AD 1135—54); *Ubertus* RB p. CCLXVIII; see further Bardsley p. 404, Lindkvist, Intr. p. 54. A Rom. (probably Italian) dim. form is found in *Hubertino* (dat.) Presbitero Cardinali CR II p. 3 (AD 1224) and *Hubertino* (dat.) clerico ibid. I p. 628 (AD 1223).

OG *Hugubert*, *Hubert*[1] (very common) F 924 f. From a phonological point of view it cannot be determined whether ME *Hubert* is continental or < ME *Hibert*, *Hybert* (< OE *Hygebeorht*) with AN orthography[2]. Moorman's explanation (Pl. Ns of West Riding p. 105) of *Hubert* in DB as deriving from an earlier *Hunbeorht* is incorrect.

Hudeman BCS 1130 (AD 972—992).

OG *Hutuman* (Mod. G *Hudemann*, *Hutmann*) F 921, Pott p. 137. Bruckner associates the first member with OS *hûd*, OHG *hût* 'Fell'. For the second member see *God(e)man*. — The forms *Hutredus* LVD pp. 60, 61, 68, *Huthredus* ibid. p. 93, etc. stand for OE *Uhtred*.

Hu(e)lin, **Hu(e)lina**, see *Hugelin*, *Hugelina*.

Hugelin: *Hugelinus* camerarius[3] KCD 771 (AD 1044); *Huge-*

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[1] For the members see *Huard* and *Adalbert*.

[2] Both names, however, clearly appear in the NE forms *Hibbard*, *Hibbert* (< ME *Hibert*; wrongly explained by Bardsley p. 380) and *Hubert* (< NF *Hubert*).

[3] Cf. FNC II p. 347.

linus cubicularius ibid. 809, 904 (AD 1060); *Hughelin* minister ibid. 823 (AD 1062—66); *Hugolinus* interpres (Som.), *Hugolinus* stirman (Berks.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 438, 488, II p. 341; Legatus *Hugelin* Ann. Wig. p. 383 (AD 1175); *Hugelinus* Exon. DB p. 15; *Hugolinus* (de Parma) Rot. Orig. II p. 185 (Edw. III.); *Hugelin* (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 453 (AD 1207); *Huchelinus* Winton DB p. 541; *Ugolinus* (otherwise *Hugo*) Giff. Reg. p. 176; *Ugelinum* (acc., merchant of Bologne) CR II p. 137 (AD 1226); *Huelyn* (surname) Pt Y p. 140; *Hulin* (surname) RH I p. 449, II p. 161; *Huweline* (surname, perhaps male) ibid. II p. 413, etc.

OG *Huglin* F 923, OF *Hugelin*, *Huelin*, *Hulin*[1] (Langlois p. 346 f.), dim. forms of *Hugo* below. In *Huweline*, *w* is probably inserted to avoid hiatus. A modern representative occurs in *Howling*.

Hugelina: *Hugolina* (wife of Picot vicecomes) FNC II p. 367; *Hugeline* (gen.) RH I p. 372; *Hugelinam* (acc.) de Nevill Abbr. Plac. p. 234; *Hugelina* CR I p. 114 (AD 1208); *Huelina* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 569 (AD 1272); *Huelma* (= *Huelina*) Plac. p. 417; *Hulina* Hist. Ab. II p. 147; *Huwelina* RH II p. 490, etc.

A fem. equivalent of the preceding name.

Hugo regis camerarius KCD 810 (AD 1061) = *Hugo* camerarius Ellis, Intr. II p. 150; *Huga* (ðe portgerefa, Bath) KCD 1351; *Hugo* (a Frenchman) AS Chr. 1003 E; *Hugo* (eorl of Ceastre)[2] ibid. 1094 E; *Hugo* (eorl of Scrobscire)[3] ibid. 1094 E; *Hugo* Gerueises sunu ibid. 1124 E, 1126 E; *Hugo* of Muntford ibid. 1123 E; *Hugo* of Walteuile ibid. 1137 E; *Hugo* LVD pp. 4, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 27, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 44, 46, 50, 52, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 64, 70, 72, 73, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 94, 95, 107, 108, 111, 112, 113, etc.; *Hugo* abbas Hist. Ab. II pp. 245, 293, 316,

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[1] See Kalbow p. 52.

[2] Cf. FNC II p. 207.

[3] Cf. FNC V p. 113.

331; *Hugo* (son of Adeliz) ibid. p. 176; *Hugo* (son of Turstinus) ibid. p. 125; *Hugo* (Hostiensis episcopus)[1] ibid. p. 198; *Hugo* barbatus[2] (Hants.), *Hugo* comes (Hants., Berks., etc.), *Hugo* Flandrensis (Bedf.) *Hugo* (Gozeri filius, Buck.), *Hugo* latinarius (Hants.), *Hugo* (filius Rogeri comitis, Staff.), *Hugo* (filius Huberti, Kent), *Hugo* arbalistarius (Suss.), *Hugo* clericus (Suss.), *Hugo* coquus (Berks.), *Hugo* (filius Rannulfi, Suss.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 436, 437, 438, II pp. 150, 339, 340, 341; *Hugo* Flamang Reg. Lib. p. 290; *Hugo* de Colne Rot. Orig. II p. 138 (Edw. III.); *Ugo* LVD pp. 47, 50; *Huwe* Morin = *Hugo* Mory RH I p. 143; *Huwe* (surname) ibid. II pp. 411, 698, 704; *Huwes* (surname) ibid. p. 761, etc.[3]; see further Bardsley pp. 378, 402, 406 (under *Hew*[4], *How* and *Hugh*).

OG *Hugo* (very common) F 922 f., OF *Hugon*, *Huë*, *Huës* etc. Langlois p. 348 ff., hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hug-*, see *Huard*. For *Huwe(s)* (< OF *Huë(s)*) see *Hugelin*.

Hunfrid: *Hunfridus* (filius Alberici, Suff.), *Hunfridus* camerarius (Surr., Hants., etc.), *Hunfridus* coquus (Glouc.), *Hunfridus* (frater Aiulfi camerarii, Hants.), *Hunfridus* loripes (Kent), *Hunfridus* (homo Ernegis de Burun, Yorks.), *Hunfridus* (homo Willielmi, Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 438, II p. 342; *Hunfrid* de Buhun Pipe Roll I p. 40 = *Umfrid* de Boun RH I p. 97; *Hunfrido* (abl.) de Millers = *Unfridus* de Miliers Plac. pp. 84, 767 (Edw. I.); *Humfridus* de Bentlai Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 119 (AD 1208); *Humfridus* de Valencia (Suff.) FA V p. 47 (AD 1316); *Humfredus* Courtenai (Dev.) ibid. p. 489 (AD 1428); *Humfridus* Bevyll (Cornw.) ibid. p. 220 (AD 1428); *Humfrey* of St. Omer FNC V p. 800; *Hunfray* (surname) RH II p. 844, etc.

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[1] See FNC III p. 431.

[2] = *Hugo* de Montefort.

[3] Uncertain is the form *Hugon* (abbas) BCS 72 (AD 688).

[4] NE *Ewes* might be < *Ugo*, but is probably in most cases originally local; cf. del *Ewe(s)* in Bardsley p. 278.

OG *Hunfrid, Humfrid* (very common) F 932. The first member is perhaps associated with ON *húnn* 'a young bear'; cf. Bruckner p. 269, Stokes, Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit, p. 84, and Schönfeld p. 143 and literature there quoted[1]. For the second member see *Gaufrid. Hunfriđ* also occurs as an OE name. But the above instances, of which most are continental, show that there was a considerable importation of this p. n. in early ME. It is difficult to keep *Hunfrid* distinct from *Unfrid, Umfrid* (see this name).

Hurogunda (Turchillus Daneys cum *Hurogunda* uxore sua) CMR I p. 160 (AD 1146—53).

The second member points to OG origin; cf. *Gundbert.* The first member seems most likely to be *Here-* (cf. OG *Herigund*[2] F 771), though the form *Huro-* is remarkable. In most names where *ur* seems to occur for *er*, it is followed by a guttural sound in the next syllable, whence *u* probably to some extent is the result of an assimilatory change; cf. the instances given by Stimming p. 177. It is, moreover, noteworthy that this interchange of *u* and *e* takes place before *r*, in which position *e* was particularly liable to obscuration; cf. Behrens p. 91. These *u*-spellings may further have been favoured by the occurrence of *u* and *e* side by side in a great many ME words, e. g. *curtel* : *kertel, gurden* : *gerden, gurdel* : *gerdel, burþene* : *berþene, furste* : *verste, kurnel* : *kernel* etc., where *u* and *e* depend on dialectal differences; cf. also *url* : *erl, burn* : *bern* (see **Erlwine*). The composition-vowel *o* in the name under notice is due to assimilation; cf. also such instances as *Columan* CCR II p. 108, *Balduwinus* LVD p. 16 and *Heluwisa* ibid. p. 97.

[1] See also Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

[2] Considering the nationality of her husband, it is not impossible that *Hurogunda* herself was of Danish descent. An ON equivalent *Hergunnr* is given by Lind 520 as a mythical name. If this happens to be the etymon, the second member has been altered into agreement with the corresponding Latinized continental form *-gunda.*

Hurvey, *Hurwey* (surnames) RH II pp. 547, 561.

These forms are probably identical with *Hervey*, *Herueius* (see **Herewig*). For *ur* < *er*, see the preceding name. Here probably belong *Urveus*, *Urveius*, *Yrvoi* Malet RB pp. 145, 310, 599 (AD 1201—12), *Urveium* (acc.) Fines I p. 272, *Urvey*, *Uruei* ibid. p. 294. *Uruoius* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402, is explained by Searle as **Urfwig*[1]. **Urf-*, however, is not elsewhere recorded as a name-element. In this particular case it seems most likely that we have to do with a native name *Wulfwig* (cf. *Uluoi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 258). *r* for *l* is due to the AN confusion between these consonants; cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 125.

Huward, see *Huard*.

Huwelin, **Huwelina**, see *Hugelin*, *Hugelina*.

I.

Ida (comitissa Boloniensis, Som.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 438; *Ida* LVD p. 47; *Ida* (wife of Comes Rogerus Bigot) ibid. p. 107 = Ida de Thoney RH I p. 537 (Edw. I.); *Ida* (wife of Hugo) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 17 (AD 1247); *Ida* (Cumberl.) ibid. p. 584 (AD 1272); *Ida* de Bello Campo (Buck.) RH I p. 47; *Ida* (wife of Walter de Brussella) Pipe Roll II p. 28; *Ide* (gen.) de Segrave (Cant.) Rot. Orig. I p. 60, etc.

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[1] In the same way, he explains *Urfer* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 402) < **Urfhere;* it is of course < *Ulfer* (occurring e. g. ibid. p. 252). For the assimilation of *l*—*r* > *r*—*r*, see Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 121.

OG *Ida* (fem.) F 943, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Id-*, which perhaps is to be associated with ON *ið* 'Wirksamkeit'[1]. As a male name *Ida* occurs in OE; cf. *Ida* in the Northumbrian pedigree AS Chr. 547 A and *Ida* mon. (Alfred) Grueber p. 72. But the fem. form was no doubt introduced from the continent.

***Idelbeard**, *Yðelbeard* presbyter BCS 622 (AD 909).

OG *Hidalbert, Hidelbert, Ydalbert* F 946. From the almost exclusive occurrence on Rom. soil of the first member, F thinks it is an extension of the name-element *Id-* (for which see the preceding name) and the same view is held by Longnon (I p. 340). Bruckner (p. 270) explains it as OS, OHG *îdal* 'ganz, nichts als'[2]. A p. n. **Idel* seems to enter into the pl. ns *Ydeles ige* KCD 1206 (AD 956) and *Yddeles hammas* ibid. 1136 (AD 940)[3] and a p. n. *Idhel* (prepositus, Glouc.) occurs in Ellis, Intr. II p. 342. These instances are probably Celtic. Cf. *Ithel* in Bardsley pp. 98, 422. On *-beard*, see *Isenbard*.

Idesbald LVH p. 28 (c. AD 1030).

OG *Itisbald, Idesbald, Idesbold* F 946. The first member, which does not occur in native names[4], is OS *idis*, OHG *itis* (OE *ides*) 'Frau, Weib'. For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

Ilbert: *Ilberd* KCD 610 (AD 1055); *Ilbertus* (Heref., Yorks.), *Ilbertus* (filius Turoldi, Heref.), *Ilbertus* de Laci (cf. *Ilbertus*

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[1] It might further be a shortened form of *Idis-*, for which see *Idesbald*, or belong to *īdel* 'eitel'; cf. also the particle *id* 'wieder' in OHG *it-lôn* 'retributio' and *itawiz* (Goth. *idweit*) 'Vorwurf'.

[2] Müller (p. 87) suggests that *Yðel-* belongs to OE *yð* 'fluctus' or is a native equivalent of OG **audel-*. It seems quite clear, however, that *Yðelbeard* is not an OE name.

[3] The pl. n. *îdel hiwisce* KCD 1163 (AD 948) contains OE *īdel* 'unfruchtbar', see Middendorff p. 81.

[4] The pl. n. *iddeshalle* KCD 237 (AD 836) is compounded with the p. n. *Iddi* (BCS 74, AD 690).

de Laceio LVD p. 73), *Ilbertus* vicecomes (Hertf.), *Ilbertus* (homo Episcopi Baiocencis, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 438, 442, II pp. 152, 342; *Ilbertus* de Mascey (Berks.) Fines I p. 141 (John); *Ylbert* de Carenci Rot. Canc. p. 144; *Ilbertus* LVD pp. 50, 55; *Ilbertus* (canonicus et sacerdos) Linc. Obit. p. 160; *Ilberd* (surname) RH II p. 829; see further Bardsley p. 413.

This name is probably on the whole < OG *Hildiberht*[1] etc. (very common) F 823 f.; OE *Hildebeorht* is rare and need not be taken under consideration.

Ilbodo (Ess.), *Ilbodus* (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 439, II p. 342.

The etymon is probably OG *Hildebodo*, *Hilbod* etc., whence *Ilbodo* may be identical with *Helbodo* above.

Ildebrand, see *Hildebrand*.

Ilger: (Rannulfus frater) *Ilgerii* (Hertf., Cambr., etc.), *Ilgerus* (Glouc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II p. 342; *Ilgerus* CR I p. 193 (AD 1215), Ped. Fin. IV p. 4, AC p. 71, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 2; *Ilgero* (abl.) Burdun Prior. Finch. p. 58; *Ylger* (surname) RH II p. 843, Rot. Orig. II p. 335, etc.

OG *Hildeger*, *Hilger*[2] (Mod. G. *Hilger*) F 827 f. An OE equivalent occurs in the pl. n. *Hildgaring* denn BCS 442 (AD 843). Cf. also *Hilger* in Björkman, Namenk. p. 46.

Ilsent (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 322.

Cf. *Ildesindus*, *Eldesindus* (Rom.) by the side of *Hildisind* and *Hildeswind* (fem.) F 835 f. For the members see *Ilbert* and *Alsent*.

Imbert de Mont'ferr' (Hunt.) RH II p. 683 (Edw. I.); *Imbert* de Sabines (Suss.) ibid. p. 205; *Imberti* (gen.) de Porchet CR I p. 55 (AD 1205); *Imberti* (gen.) de Foiz ibid. p. 72 (AD 1206); *Imbertum* (acc.) de Fontibus ibid. p. 620 (AD 1224); *Imbertus* Pugeis (Berks.) Test. Nev. p. 104; *Imbertus* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 332 (AD 1240); Hugo *Ymberd* (Buck.) RH II p. 349, etc.; see further Bardsley p. 414.

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[1] First member is OS *hild* (OE *hild*) 'Kampf'; for the second member see *Adalbert*.

[2] For the members see *Ilbert* and *Amelger*.

Bardsley explains *Imbert* < *Isambert* "contracted in Germany to *Isabert*, in England to *Imbert*", which explanation is extremely questionable. The name was more probably introduced in the present form from the continent where it is recorded as OF *Ymbert*, *Hymbert* and OG *Imbert* F 952. The first member is a short form of *Irmin* (see *Emino* above) rather than ON *imr* 'Wolf', as Bruckner (p. 270) suggests for similar formations. Another possible etymon might be **Inbert* (cf. Lombard *Inebertus*, Bruckner p. 270), the first member of which is the particle *in*, also recorded in OE p. ns, e. g. *Infrith*, *Inuald*, **Inwine* (*Inwinesburg*). For the second member see *Adalbert*.

Ingelard, see *Engelard*.

***Ingelarius,** see *Engeler*.

Ingelbald, see **Engelbald*.

Ingelbert, see *Engelbert*.

Ingelburg, see **Engelburg*.

Ingeleis, Ingeleas, Ingelesa, see **Engeleisa*.

Ingelgar, see *Engelger*.

Ingelmar, *Inglemar* (filius Radulfi) CMR III p. 252; *Yngelmar* (surname) RH II p. 479.

OG *Ingilmar*, *Inglemar* F 966. For the members see *Engelard* and *Ainmer*.

Ingelram, *Ingelrannus*, see *Engelram*.

Ingelric, see *Engelric*.

***Ingelsent**: Willelmus *Inglissent*, sherman, FY p. 167 (AD 1447); Johannes *Inglesant*, Willelmus *Ingelsant* Pt Y p. 245 (AD 1379).

OG *Ingilsind(is)* F 966. For the members see *Engelard* and *Alsent*. *-sant* is due to the AN coalescence of *en* and *an*.

Ingenolda, see **Engenalda*.

Ingenulf, see *Engenulf*.

Ingeraldus RB p. 610 (AD 1211—12). A name-element *Inger-* is recorded in two continental p. ns: *Ingerlaus*, adduced by F 967 and *Ingeralda*, a fem. equivalent of the above name, Bruckner p. 136, in the first member of which

he recognizes the trace of an old *os/es* stem. In the present case at least, I am more inclined to explain *Inger-* < *Ingel-* with *r* for *l* owing to dissimilation or perhaps to the influence of *Ingerannus* (see *Engelram*).

Ingram, see *Engelram.*

Iosfred, see *Gosfred.*

***Iotselin,** see *Gozelin.*

Isard de Bonefers (merchant of Toulouse) CR I p. 27 (AD 1224); *Isardo* (dat.) (homini Galfridi de Calcade) ibid. II p. 93 (AD 1226)[1].

OG *Ishard* F 971, OF *Isart* Langlois p. 362. The first member is perhaps OHG *īs* (OE *īs*) 'Eis'; it has also been suggested that it is a shortened form of *Isan-*, wich is very well possible, especially in later times; cf. also *Isengod* below. *Is-* is in most cases of comparatively late appearance in OE p. ns, whence it seems probable that this name-element has been introduced from abroad; cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 194. For the second member see **Actard*[2].

Isbert, *Isberti* (gen.) RH II p. 529.

OG *Isbert* F 971. For the members see *Isard* and *Adalbert.* Cf. also *Isenbard* below.

Isbrand de Harleñ (Holland) RLP p. 82 (AD 1208).

OG *Isbrand, Isbrant, Isbrandt* F 971, Carstens p. 53. Cf. also *Isprant* ('Friese') Stark p. 40. For the members see *Isard* and *Aeðelbrand.*

Is(e)god, see *Isengod.*

Iseldis, Isolda: *Iseldis* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 440, II p. 344; *Iseuda* la Marescale RH II p. 706 (Edw. I.); *Iseude* (filia Aliciæ Basset, Yorks.) Prior. Finch p. 49 (13th c.); *Isenda* (= *Iseuda*) Fulur RH II p. 794; *Isolda* (Leic.) Rot. Fin. p. 500

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[1] The name *Iseardi* (gen.) BCS 89 (c. AD 700) is probably < **Isheard* and not < **Isgeard*, as Searle suggests. Cf. *Suebeardus* for *Suebheardus* in the same charter.

[2] The pl. n. (of) *isan pyttan* BCS 473 (AD 854), which according to Searle contains a p. n. **Isa*, is rather to be explained with Middendorff (p. 83) = *īsengraf* 'Eisengrube'.

(AD 1213); *Isolda* Biset (*Ysouda* Biset) (Wilts.) ibid. p. 511 (AD 1213), RB p. 484 (AD 1210—12); *Isolda* (uxor) RCR II p. 267 (AD 1200); *Ysolde* (gen.) de Bello Campo CR I p. 213 (AD 1214—15); *Ysolde* (gen.) Pantolf ibid. p. 286 (AD 1216); *Isold'* (uxor Hugonis de Muhaut) ibid. II p. 214 (AD 1227); *Isolde* (gen.) de la Pomerye Rot. Orig. II p. 63; *Ysolt* de Ferrers Rot. Canc. p. 99; *Ysouda*, *Ysodda* LVD pp. 111, 113; *Isata* FY p. 180 (AD 1459); *Isaude* (surname) PT Y p. 144 (AD 1379); *Isand* (= *Isaud*) RH II p. 382; *Isonde* (= *Isoude*) ibid. p. 552; *Essolda* KC p. 134; see further Bardsley p. 420.

OF *Iseut* (l'amie de Tristan), *Isalt*, *Isaut*, *Ysole* Langlois p. 362, Schultz p. 187. Most scholars now agree on deriving this name from a Germanic etymon **Ishild*[1]. For the first member see *Isard*. The OF development of the second member (for which see **Ainild*) is *-hild* > *(h)elt* (*(h)eut*) > *(h)alt* (*(h)aut*) > *(h)olt* (*(h)out*); cf. Schultz p. 187. For the loss of *l* in *Isota*, *Isata* cf. Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 148.

Isenbard, Isenbert: *Isembert* mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 181 *Isenbard* (Northampt.), *Isenbardus* (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 344; *Isenbardus* LVH (quoted from Searle); *Isenbardus* artifex Chr. Petr. p. 172; *Isenbard'*, *Isembard* de Fontibus Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 427, 456 (AD 1244, 46) = *Isenbertus* de Funtayns ibid. II p. 439 (AD 1266); *Isenbard* (*Ysembert*) de Braham Ped. Fin. III p. 155 (AD 1198), Rot. Fin. p. 447 (AD 1207); *Isembert'* Burell̃ RLP I p. 140 (AD 1215); *Isumberto* (dat.) de Sc̃o Blumundo Rot. Orig. I p. 227 (Edw. II.); *Isemberd*, *Isamberd*, *Isanberd* (surnames) CR I p. 487 (AD 1222), CCR II p. 229 (AD 1280); *Ysenbard* (surname) Ped. Fin. III p. 98 (AD 1198), etc.

OG *Isanbard*, *Isenbard*, *Isembard*, *Isanbert*, *Isenbert*, etc. (common) F. 973 f., OF *Isembart*, *Isambart*, *Isambert* Langlois p. 362. The first member is OHG *îsan* (OE *īsern*)[2]

[1] Cf. Schultz p. 187, Zimmer p. 73 ff. and Björkman, Pers. p. 194

[2] Occurring in *Isernuulf* LV, see Müller p. 81. The first member of the pl. n. *isenan æwylm* is explained by Middendorff as the adj. *īsen* 'eisern'.

'Eisen'. For *-bard* and *-bert* see *Bardwulf* and *Adalbert*. Longnon (p. 289) considers *-bard* to be a deformation of *-bald* in the regions bordering on Lorraine, where te thinks a change of *-ald* > *-ard* (*Renaud* > *Renard*) has also taken place. It seems most likely that a confusion between the forms *-bard* and *-bert* has been caused by their resemblance and especially by the occurrence side by side of Rom. *Bart-* and *Bert-*; cf. *Bertram* above[1].

Isenburh LVH (11th c.) quoted from Searle.

Isanburg, *Isemburgis* (Rom.), etc. F 975. For the members see *Isenbard* and **Engelburg*.

Isenda, see *Iseldis*.

Isengod, *Isngod* mon. (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 200, Hildebrand p. 54.

The moneyer's name *Is(e)god* Grueber pp. 213, 246, Hildebrand p. 216 evidently designates the same person. The relation of *Is-* to *Isan-* in OG p. ns is not clear, as has been pointed out above (under *Isard*). They may very well originally be two distinct name-elements, of which the former may have come to be looked upon as a short form of the latter. It is further equally possible that OG *Is-* has arisen as a shortened form of *Isan-*. At any rate, both elements occur side by side in some OG compounds, e. g. *Isibold* : *Isinbold*, *Isabert* : *Isanbert*, *Isbrand* : *Isanbrand*, *Hisburg* : *Isanburg*, *Iseger* : *Isanger*, *Isgildis* : *Isangildis*, *Hisigrim* : *Isangrim*, *Ishard* : *Isanhard*, etc.; cf. also *Iso* = *Hisenger* Stark p. 40 and Socin p. 212. The present name, however, is recorded on the continent only in the form *Isingaud*, *Isengaud* (Rom.) F 976, but from what has been said above it will be seen that a by-form **Is(e)gaud* may very well have existed. Another explanation has been suggested by Björkman (in E St, 1916, p. 278), viz. that *Isengod* is from *Isegod* with insertion of an inorganic *n*.

Iseuda, see *Iseldis*.

Iseward mon. (Cnut) Grueber p. 246, Hildebrand p. 311;

[1] *-beard* is often a reverted spelling of *-berd* (< *-bert*).

Iseuuardus (Oxf.) Ellis Intr. II p. 344; *Isward* Cart. Eynsh. I p. 73; *Ysward* (surname) RH II p. 724 (Edw. I).

Cf. OG *Iseward*, *Iswart*, *Isoard* (Rom.), etc. F 972, OF *Isoart* Langlois p. 363. For the members see *Isard* and *Beluard*. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 194.

Isgar (surname) see Bardsley p. 421.

Cf. OG *Is(e)ger*, *Iskar* F 971. For the members see *Isard* and *Berenger*. The above name is, however, perhaps a hybrid form.

Isiemund mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 120.

Cf. OG *Isimund*, *Isemund* F 972. For the members see *Isard* and *Claremunda*. Cf. also O Swed. **Ismund* in the pl. n. *Ismundbacken*, Lundgren p. 138.

Isla (fem.) LVH (12th c.) quoted from Searle.

Cf. *Isla*, *Hisla* (Rom.) F 971 and the male form *Islo* ibid., which are either dim. forms of *Isa*, *Iso* F 970 or hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Isel-*, for which see F 972 f. and Bruckner p. 272.

Isolda, **Isouda**, see *Iseldis*.

Isware vidua CMR III p. 286; *Isewar* RH I p. 281 (Edw. I.).

No OG or ON equivalent seems to be on record. It is perhaps a native formation with OE *-waru*.

Isulf mon. (Eadgar, Eadweard II.) Grueber pp. 164, 191.

Cf. OG *Isulf*[1] F 972 and ON *Isólfr* Lind 659; see Björkman, Pers. p. 194.

[**Itamar**, **Ithamar** Rofensis episcopus BCS 22, 838 (AD 664), though looking like an OG name, is probably Celtic; cf. *Itmâros*, Stokes p. 201.]

Iter, **Iterius:** *Iter* de Berbezi CR I p. 197 (AD 1215); *Itero* (dat.) de Chastery ibid. p. 496 (AD 1222); *Yterus* clericus RH II p. 818 (Edw. I.); *Itherii* (gen.) de Concoreto Rot. Orig. II pp. 44, 45 (Edw. III.); *Iterius* LVD p. 64; *Iterius* Bochardi (canon of the King's chapel of Hastings) CCR II p. 206 (AD 1277) = *Iterius* de Ingolisma ('Angoulême') ibid. p. 257 (AD 1281).

[1] For the members see *Isard* and *Adelulfus*.

OG *Ithar*, *Ither*, *Iterius* F 945, OF *Itier* Langlois p. 365. The first member is perhaps a shortened form of OHG *itis* (OE *ides*), as Socin (p. 212) assumes; cf. *Ida* above. For the second member see *Aeðelhere*.

Ithrgunt LVD p. 79.

The second member points to continental origin, as Björkman (Namenk. p. 47) observes, but the first member is puzzling. The form is probably either corrupt or non-Germanic; cf. *Itero*, *Iturius*, *Itr-ius*, *Itr-ia* in Holder, and the second member of Celtic *Mailgund* (male) (< *Maelgwn* = Gallic *Maglocunos*) Abbr. Plac. p. 52.

Iueland de Stowe (Linc.) RB p. 515 (AD 1210—12).

The second member (for which see *Amerland*) proves this to be a continental name, though I have not met with any instance of it. It is evidently a younger formation with the short form *Ivo* (see below).

Iuetta, see **Iva*.

***Iva**, *Yva* uxor LVD p. 95 (13th c.).

Iva (Rom.) F 978, a fem. form of *Ivo* (below). — NF dim. forms (derived by means of OF *-ette*, Latinized *-etta*, < Latin *-itta*) are *Iuett* (probably fem.) LVD p. 32, *Ioetta* (uxor Willelmi Malesour) Rot. Fin. p. 253 (AD 1205), *Iuete* (gen.) RCR I p. 100 (AD 1194), *Iuetta* ibid. II p. 124 (AD 1199), etc.

***Ivelin**, *Yvelin*, *Yveliny* (gen.) Rot. Fin. p. 315, CR I p. 49 (AD 1205).

A Rom. dim. form of *Ivo*.

***Ivelina**, *Iuelina* de Bere RCR I p. 367 (AD 1199).

A Rom. dim. form of **Iva* above.

Ivo Tailgebosch[1] Ellis, Intr. I p. 490; *Iuo* (Suss., Buck., etc.), *Iuo* (dapifer Hugonis, Bedf.), *Iuo* (homo Gisleberti, Linc.), *Iuo* (homo Eudonis, Linc.), *Ivo* (homo Roberti, Linc.) ibid. II p. 344; *Ivo* (Bish. of Dol) FNC IV p. 636; *Ivo* (founder of the house of Belesme, one of the guardians of

[1] A Norman, see FNC IV p. 215.

Richard the Fearless) ibid. II p. 183; *Ivo* (son of Hugh of Grantmesnil, Sheriff of Leicestershire)[1] ibid. IV pp. 232, 642; *Ivo*, *Yvo* LVD pp. 12, 46, 50, 55, 83, 112, 146 (Obit.); *Ivo* de Rieualle, *Ivo* de Chenai ibid. pp. 97, 98; *Yvo* (prior de Burge) Ann. Wint. p. 73 (AD 1199); *Ivo* Martell (Dors.) RCR I p. 330 (AD 1199); *Yvo* monachus CMR I p. 148 (AD 1114—30); very common; see further Bardsley p. 422.

Cf. *Ivo* F 978, OF *Ive*, *Yve(s)*, *Ivon*, *Yvon* Langlois p. 365. F suggests it is from OHG *iwa* 'Eibe' or that *Iv-* is a secondary name-stem which has arisen from *Idwald* and similar names. It seems extremely doubtful, however, whether it is a Germanic name at all. It appears chiefly in Rom. sources and was particularly common among the Normans and Bretons[2], whence I am inclined to associate it with the Celtic name-stem *Iv-* appearing in *Ivacattus*, *Ivatus*, *Ivimarus*, *Ivinus*, *Ivo*, *Ivorix*, etc., see Holder. Of different origin are certainly OE *Ifa* (Ecgbeorht) Grueber p. 1, the patronymic form *Ifinc*(?)[3] (Edw. the Conf.) ibid. p. 332, *Iua* (Eadw. the Elder) ibid. p. 92 and *Ive* (Eadred, Eadgar) ibid. pp. 155, 182, which are < **Iba*[4] (cf. *Ibba* mon., Offa, Keary p. 27 and the pl. n. (on) *ibbanhyrste* BCS 208, AD 772) and *Ibe* BCS 154 (AD 736)[5]. These names, which may be compared to OG *Ib(b)o*, are hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Id-* or some similar element and a member beginning with *b*. If the native forms have survived they will have been confused with the continental *Ivo*.

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[1] = *Yvo* de Leircestre LVD p. 63.

[2] Cf. Yonge p. 326.

[3] *Yfingus* KCD 813 (AD 1062) as well as *Yffe*, *Yffing* in the Northumbr. pedigree (AS Chr. 560 A) are < OE *Uf(f)a*.

[4] *Iba* BCS 52, 1330, in a letter of Archb. Theodor, is probably not an Anglo-Saxon.

[5] On *f(v,u)* < *b* see *Abbo*.

J.

[**Jagelin** (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 342, also appearing in the pl. n. Purston *Jaglin* (Preston *Jakelin*) Moorman p. 151, has nothing to do with the OG name-stem *Jag-* which F (979) associates with OHG *jagôn* 'venari' but is a dim. of *Jago* (e. g. Rot. Obl. p. 12), a Rom. (Spanish) form of *Jacob*. The names *Jachelin, Jacolin,* which also occur in ME, are < OF *Jaquelin, Jakelin*.]

Jerlo, see *Gerlo*.

Jervays, see *Gervas*.

Jerwyn, see *Gerwin*.

Joceram, see **Gosram*.

Johais (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 343.

The second member is evidently the same as in *Adelais(a)* above. The first member is *Gaut-* > OF *Jo-* with loss of the dental, for which cf. Schultz p. 190, Kalbow p. 134 f. Hence the OG etymon is **Gauthaid, Caozheid, Cozheid*[1] etc. F 616.

Joibert LVD p. 107; *Joibert* (Prior of Coventry, a Norman) CMR III p. 179 (AD 1216); *Joyberd* (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 309; *Joibertus* (Prior of Wenlok) Ann. Theokesb. p. 56 (AD 1198);

OF *Joibert* Langlois p. 374 f. The OG etymon is *Gautbert* (see *Gosbert*) > OF *Jobert* (Langlois ibid.), popularly associated with OF *joie*.

Jo(s)celin, see *Gozelin*.

Josfreid, Josfreið, see *Gosfrid*.

Judelberd mon. (Aethelstan II.) Keary p. 96; *Judelbard* mon. (Alfred), Grueber p. 73, probably the same person.

A continental equivalent does not seem to be on record. There can be no doubt, however, that the above forms

[1] Cf. *Gosbert* and *Adelais(a); -heid* is perhaps in some cases to be derived from **haiþ-* (OE *-hæþ*) on account of the frequent spellings with *d* in OHG p. ns.

were introduced from Gaul, where the first member is instanced in the fem. name *Judelhildis* and probably also in *Jodelman* F 982. *Judel-* is assumed by F to be an extension of *Jud-*, related to the name of the *Juts*, and Longnon (p. 345) explains it as an "allongement gallo-franc de l'élément onomastique *jud-*", which he derives from Hebrew *Judith*. One might also recall the existence of a Celtic name-stem *Iud-*, not unfrequently met with in England, e. g. S. *Iudoces* (gen.) AS Chr. 903 F (cf. *Iudocus* Holder p. 86), *Iuðval* subregulus BCS 677 (AD 931) (cf. *Iudvalus* Holder ibid.), *Judichel* venator Ellis, Intr. II p. 153 (cf. *Iudicael* Holder p. 85), and *Judhellus*, *Juhellus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 344, *Judhel* de Totenais ibid. I p. 440 (< Breton *Jud* + *hael*, see Zimmer p. 109). — For the second member see *Isenbard*. The *d* is due to the WF vacillation in the rendering of final *t*.

K.

Karl, see *Carl*.

[**Kerinc** liber homo (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 154 is a mistake for *Kenric'* liber homo (Suff.) ibid. p. 153 and not identical with OHG *Kerinc* < *Gering*.]

L.

Lambert, Lanbert: *Lambertus* (Ess., Norf.), *Lanbertus* (Dors., Som., etc.), *Lanbertus* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), *Lanbertus* (homo Gozelini, Linc.), *Lanbertus* presbyter (Berks.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 345; *Lambertus* LVD pp. 16, 45, 47, 52, 78, 79, 110, etc.; abbate *Lamberto*[1] ibid. p. 136; *Lambertus* (Prior of Ramsey) CMR I p. 161 (AD 1146—53); *Lambert* (son of Odelardi) MRS p. 65; *Lamberti* (gen.) de Bremen CR I pp. 610, 635 (AD 1224); *Lambertus* Teutonicus ibid. p. 277 (AD 1216); *Lamberto* (dat.) de Cassel ibid. II p. 35 (AD 1225); *Lamberti* (gen.) Flandř Rot. Canc. p. 10; *Lambard* (surname, Yorks.) RH I p. 125 (Edw. I.), etc. A probably Italian dim. form is *Lambertino* (dat.) CR II p. 128 (AD 1226).

OG *Lambert, Lanbert* (< *Landbert*) F 1005, Winkler p. 225, OF *Lambert* Langlois p. 389 f. The first member is OHG *lant* (OE *land, lond*) 'Land'. On the loss of the dental and the assimilation of *nb* > *mb* see Franck, Afr. Gr. §§ 126. 4, 128. For the second member see *Adalbert*. This name, however, does not seem to have been strange to OE; it occurs in the forms *Londberct* in LV (se Müller p. 81), *Londbriht* mon., see Searle, and *Landbeorht* Earle p. 254. But it is no doubt to continental influence that it owes its great popularity in ME times. Cf. Bardsley p. 464, who states that "the Flemish *Lambert* had a great influence on English nomenclature for a time, nearly as great, in fact, as *Baldwin*". — For the dim. form *Lambin* see Arch. 123 p. 35.

Lancelin, see **Lanzelin*.

Lancelina, see **Lanzelina*.

Landfranc, Lanfranc: *Landfranc, Lanfrancus* (Archb. of Canterb.) AS Chr. 1070 A, Ellis, Intr. I p. 443, LVD p.

[1] See under *Fromund*.

74; *Lanfranc* (son of Eustace) Rot. Canc. p. 180; *Lanfranco* (dat.) ('lator litterarum regis') RLP p. 13 (AD 1202).

Lanfranc F 1006. For the first member see *Lambert;* as regards the second member F says (p. 515): "Zum volksnamen der Franken. Im zweiten teile zeigt sich der stamm in *Lanfranc* (10), das in Italien, aber auch im Ags. begegnet", and p. 1006: "*Landfranc* ist sonst oft ags, z. b. häufig in den concilien". This name referred to by F is the above-mentioned Archb. of Canterbury, "a native of the Lombard city of Pavia". According to Kalbow (p. 91), *Lanfranc* is also once instanced as an OF epic name.

Landric: *Landricus*, *Landric* (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 443; *Landri* (Berks.), *Landricus* (Nordhampt., Yorks., Linc.), *Landricus* (homo Alani Comitis, Yorks.) ibid. II p. 346.

OG *Landric(us)* (very common) F 1009 and OF *Landri* (common) Langlois p. 391 f. For the members see *Lambert* and *Alberic*. It is not on record in OE. The NE surname *Landry*, explained by Bardsley (p. 471) as local, 'of the laundry', is probably partly to be derived from *Landri;* cf. the surname *Landr'* RH II p. 719.

Lanfrei LVD p. 52.

This is perhaps an AN form of OG *Landfrid*[1] F 1006, OF *Lanfre*, *Lanfroi* Langlois p. 392. But an OE equivalent occurs in *Londfrið* LV (see Müller p. 81) and *Landferð* mon. (Eadred, Cnut) Grueber pp. 150, 246. I see no reason why *Landferð* LVH p. 25 should be continental as Köpke (p. 21) assumes.

***Lanzelin, Lancelin**: *Lanzelinus* (Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 346; *Lancelius* Chr. Petr. pp. 164, 168; *Lancelin* (Cant.) RCR I p. 369 (AD 1199), Fines I p. 326; *Lantscelino* (dat.) MRS pp. 48, 49; *Lancelin* Boeve de Hamtone v. 2928; *Lancelin*, *Launcelin*, *Launcelyn* (surnames) Rot. Obl. p. 156 (AD 1201), RH I p. 269, FA I p. 19 (AD 1316), etc.; see further Bardsley p. 466.

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[1] For the members see *Lambert* and *God(e)frid*.

Lancelin (Rom.) F 1004, Langlois p. 390, a Rom. dim. form of *Lanzo* (below)[1].

***Lanzelina, Lancelina** LVD p. 54 (13th c.).

A fem. form of the preceding name.

Lanzo (prior Sancti Pancrati Lewensis venit in Angliam) Ann. Berm. p. 425 (AD 1077) = patre *Lanzone* (abl.) Lib. Hyde p. 299.

OG *Lanzo* F 1004, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Land-;* cf. *Lanzo* = *Lambertus*, *Landefredus* Stark p. 78.

Lauda LVD p. 57.

OG *Lauta* (fem.) and *Laudo* (male)[2] are certainly not to be taken under consideration in explaining the above form, any more than Celtic *Laudo* (male) Holder p. 158, but *Lauda* is most probably a mistake for *Landa* owing to the graphical confusion of *u* with *n* in ME texts; cf. OG *Landa* and its male equivalent *Lando* (F 1003), hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Land-*, see *Lambert.*

Lecelina (wife of Fulk Paganel) CCR III pp. 176, 177 (AD 1311); *Leceline* (gen.) ibid. p. 277 (AD 1314).

This might be a dim. form of *Leza* (uxor Roberti de Abetot) CCR III p. 309 (AD 1316), which perhaps is to be compared to OG *Lezzo* (male) F 1054, Socin pp. 150, 223, 427. But *Lecelina* is rather the same name as *Licelina* (e. g. LVD p. 34, CCR II p. 111, AD 1268), which seems to be a dim. form of *Elizabeth.*

Lefram de Basideis CR I p. 220 (AD 1215).

OG *Liubrammus*[3] (Mod. G. *Lieb(e)ram*) F 1026. The first member has probably been adapted to the ME form *Lef-* (e. g. *Lefred*, *Lefrich*, etc. RH I p. 162, II p. 92).

Leg(g)ard, see **Leodgard.*

Lendard: Medardus *Lendard*, goldesmyth, FY p. 171 (AD 1451).

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[1] For *Lancelot*, which also occurs in ME, see Zimmer p. 50 ff.

[2] Related to Goth. *laudi* 'Gestalt'.

[3] The first member is OHG *liob* (OE *leof*) 'lieb'; for the second member see *Bertram.*

OG *Lendard* F 1007, placed under *Landard*, *Lanthard*[1]. For explaining the *e*-form, we must then assume that the first member has been influenced by such names as *Lentfridus*, *Lentrich*, in which there was a secondary mutation of *a* by the *i* of the second member. Cf. also the form *Linthart* (Mod. G *Lindert*) F 1060.

***Leobrant** occurring in the pl. n. (æt) *Leobrantestune* BCS 1130 (AD 972—992).

OG *Leobrand*, *Leubrand*, *Liuprant*, etc. F 1038. The first member is probably OHG *liut* (OE *leod*) 'Volk', as is shown by the frequent occurrence of *Leutbrand*, *Liud-Liutbrand*, etc. F. 1037 f. It is not necessary to assume OHG *leuuên*, *liuuên* 'gnädig, günstig sein', as has been done by Bruckner (p. 277) for Lombard *Leoprandus*[2]. For the second member see *Aeðelbrand*.

Leobwinus (one of Walcher's favourites) FNC IV p. 669.

Cf. OG *Leobwin(i)*, *Leuboin*, *Liubwin*, etc. F 1029. For the members see *Lefram* and *Amalwin*. The OE equivalent is *Leofwine*.

***Leodgar**: *Leodegarius* de Diva (Leic.) RB p. 533 (AD 1210—12); (de) Sco *Leodegar* CR I p. 257 (AD 1216) = *St. Léger; Leodegarius* LVD p. 64; *Leger* (NE *Le(d)ger*) Bardsley s. 476.

OG *Leodegar*[3] (common) F 1040, OF *Legier* (Langlois p. 393), spread all over France and Normandy; cf. Schätzer p. 40 f. No OE equivalent is on record. The surname *Liger* RH I p. 484 is also a NF form of the same etymon; cf. OF *Ligier* Langlois p. 396.

***Leodgard**: *Legard* Rot. Obl. p. 47 (AD 1200); *Leggard*, *Lyggard* Bardsley p. 476.

OG *Leudgard*, *Liudgard*[4] (F 1040 f.) > French *Legard*,

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[1] Cf. *Lambert* and **Actard*.

[2] The first member of OE *Leofrith* LV and *Leowinus* Anecd. Oxon. I 7, 29, 151 (AD 1107—37) is certainly not this element, as Müller p. 110 suggests, but they are = *Leoffrith*, *Leofwine*.

[3] For the members see **Leobrant* and *Amelger*. The first member is a Latinized or learned form.

[4] For the members see **Leobrant* and *Aldeardis*.

Legeard, *Liégeard* Kremers p. 51. Incorrect is F's explanation of *Legard*, *Legart* (Pol. Irm.) < *Laic-*. Of the same origin is further the first member of the pl. n. (to) *lidgeardes beorge* BCS 834, 1125 (AD 947, 963). A fem. equivalent is *Leogarda* de Torkeseye Rot. Orig. I p. 23 (Hen. III.). Cf. OG *Leutgarda*, *Liudgarda*, etc. F 1040.

Leofgod, see under *Mangod*.

Leogarda, see **Leodgard*.

Leonard, **Len(n)ard**: *Leonardus* de Venoz (Ess.) RB p. 359 (AD 1166); *Leonardo* (abl.) Rot. Orig. II p. 281 (Edw. III.); *Leonardi* (gen.) Pichot CMR II p. 281 (AD 1216—31); Magister *Leonardus* Rob. Gros. p. 302 (AD 1242); *Leonard* (canon of Huntingdon) Fines I p. 50 (John); *Leonardus* carpenter (Hunt.) RH II p. 609 (Edw. I.); *Leonardus* Asshawe (Lanc.) Duc. Lanc. p. 61; *Leonardus* (filius Alani dapiferi regis Scotiæ) LVD p. 111; *Leonardi* (gen.) de Venetia, *Leonard* de Venice Rot. Canc. p. 160, RCR I p. 183 (AD 1198); *Leonardus* (abbot of Dublin) CCR I p. 120 (AD 1230); *Leonard* (surname) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 448 (AD 1266), CMR I p. 194 (AD 1244), RH II p. 610; *Lennardi* (gen.) CMR I p. 95; *Lenard* (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 61, 331; the Saint's name *Leonard* occurs in capella *Sči Leonardi* (of Cestresham), Fines I p. 253; hospic' *Sči Leonardi* (of Chesterfield) Rot. Orig. II p. 243; ecclesia Beati *Leonardi* (of Stratford), *St. Leonard's Forest* (Suss.), Roberts p. 137, etc.; cf. also the pl. n. *Burton Leonard* Moorman p. 39 and *Pons Leonardi* RM I p. 10.

OG *Leonard* (Rom.) F 1053, Socin p. 25. The first member is OHG *leuuôn* 'gnädig, günstig sein', for which see Bruckner p. 277, Schönfeld p. 156 and literature. For the second member see **Actard*. *Leonard* is a learned form which has been preserved up to the present day, not only on the continent but also in England, where it also appears as *Lennard* in conformity with the pronunciation. The latter form, which occurs already in ME, as may be seen

from the above instances, is probably due to the ME development of *eo* > *e*. Cf. also Jespersen, Gr. 3. 25.

Lesiard, see *Lisiard*.

[**Leswinus** (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 158.

This name is probably an orthographical error for *Lefwinus*, just as *Leswi* abbot, Earle p. 574, will stand for *Lefwi* (< *Leofwig*)[1].]

Letard, see **Liudhard*.

Letewaria (sister of Walter Esturmi) Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 393, 400 (AD 1243).

OG *Liuduara*, *Liutwar*, *Litwara*, etc. F 1048 f. *Lete-* is a NF form of *Leut-*, for which cf. **Liudhard*; for the second member see the etymologies in F 1531[2].

***Leðarius**, see **Liudhard*.

Leutfredus *S.*, Ellis, Intr. I p. 444 = *St. Leufroy* in the diocese of Evreux.

OG *Leutfrid*, *Liutfrid*[3], etc. F 1039. An OE equivalent is found in *Liodfrith* LV (see Müller p. 89). The spelling *eu* in the above form is AN, whereas in the native forms *Leuredus* (< OE *Leofred*), *Leuric* (OE *Leofric*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 162, *eu* is to be considered as [*ev*] < OE [*eov*]. Cf. the ME spelling *Alured* for *Alfred*.

Leuint LVD p. 31.

The second member is strange to native p. ns. *-winda*, *-wint* occurs in OG, cf. F 167, but there is no equivalent of the present form on record. The two names between which it occurs in LVD, *Lefsi* and *Lefwar*, render it likely, however, that the first member is actually *Leu-* < *Lef-*, (see *Leutfredus*) and the second member corrupt. Cf. such ME forms as *Leuild*, *Leuine*, *Leuid*, *Leuiet*, etc.

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[1] Cf. Luhmann p. 42 ff.

[2] The surname *Letelin* RH I p. 50 is perhaps non-Germanic (see Holder p. 191). Cf., however, the name *Leto* F 999 and *Let* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 158), for which latter see Björkman, Pers. p. 92.

[3] For the members see **Leobrant* and *Amelfrid*.

***Leuthere**, *Leutherius*, *Leotherius* (episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum) BCS 25, 30, 37, 43, 107 (AD 670—704), Bede, HE L III, C VII[1].

OG *Leutheri*, *Leother*, *Liuthar*[2], etc. F 1043 f. No native equivalent is on record.

Leza, see *Lecelina*.

Liardus, see under **Liudhard*.

Liboret (Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 349.

OG *Liubarat*, *Liuberat*, etc. F 1027. For the members see *Lefram* and **Amaldredus*. *Lib-* < *Liub-* is due to OF influence, see Mackel p. 128. *-ret* is found in DB also for native *-red* owing to the AN interchange of final *d* and *t*.

***Lidgeard**, see **Leodgard*.

Liger, see **Leodgar*.

***Lipperd** in the pl. n. *Lipperdes gemære* KCD 681 (after AD 972).

OG *Liuppert* (F 1037) < OG *Liutbert*[3] F 1036 f. In this case the *i* of the above form is accounted for as an OF rendering of the OG diphthong *iu*. Cf. the Rom. form *Litbert* F 1037 and Mackel p. 128. The ME surname *Lyppard* (RH I p. 542) is perhaps the same name. It might also be explained with Bardsley (p. 478) as identical with the surname *Leopard* 'the leopard'.

Liseman, see the following name.

Lisiard, **Liziard**: *Lisiard* (canon) Rot. Canc. p. 321, probably = magistro *Lisiardo* (canon of York) Prior. Hexh. II p. 88; *Liziard* de Monasteriis, Mustiers ('Moûtiers') RCR I p. 125 (AD 1194), Rot. Fin. p. 253, Fines I p. 294, CR I p. 404, RH II p. 302 = *Lesiardo* (dat.) de Monasteriis Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 37.

Lisiard (Rom., AD 1089) F 1061. For the continental name-element *Lis-* various etymologies have been establi-

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[1] He was a nephew of Bish. *Agilberct* (see **Aegelbert*).

[2] Cf. **Leobrant* and *Aeðelhere*.

[3] Cf. **Leobrant* and *Adalbert*.

shed: F associates it with **lis* 'gehen', Bruckner (p. 278) with OHG *lîso* 'leise' and Longnon (p. 302) derives it from *Elis-* (see *Aelismer*) with aphæresis of the initial *e*, which seems rather probable at least in the present case[1]. The same element perhaps occurs in *Liseman* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 181, 349. Cf. *Lis(e)man* Socin p. 428.

***Liudhard**, *Liudhardo*[2] (abl.) Bede, HE L. I, C. XXV = *Leðarii* (gen.) BCS 8. The same person in also *Letardi* (gen.) episcopi Silvanetensis in Galliis Hist. Aug. p. 132; *Letardus* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 347; *Letardus* (Kent) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 83 (AD 1250); *Letard(us)* de Heny(n) Plac. p. 718, CCR II p. 187 (AD 1274); *Letard* (surname) RH I p. 410, etc.

OG *Leuthard*, *Liuthard*[3], etc. F 1042 f. The form *Letard* is given by F 999 under *laitha-* (OHG *leid*, OS *lêd*; "doch kommt auch in betracht ahd. *leitjan*, alts. *lêdian*, ags. *laedan*, nhd. *leiten* ducere"). But most of these names containing *Lēt-* are taken from Rom. sources and therefore probably to be derived from OG *Leut-* 'Volk' with OF loss of the second component of the diphthong for which see Mackel p. 128. *Liardus* RB p. 187 (AD 1166) and *Lyard* (surname RH II p. 755) are probably NF forms of OG *Liuthard*, *Liudard* with *iu* > *i* and loss of the dental.

Loswardus (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 448, *Losoardus*, *Losuardus* (homo Episcopi Baioc.) ibid. II p. 350.

Hildebrand (DB p. 351) suggests that this name is from *Laudwart* quoted from Pott, which seems more than uncertain especially since this form does not seem to be on record in OG times. OG *lôs* (OE *lēas*) might constitute the first member of the name under notice, but this element does not seem to have been used as a name-stem. One might further compare the names *Lozhilt* F 1052, *Luz-*

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[1] For the second member see *Aldeardis*.

[2] The Frankish chaplain of Queen Berta.

[3] Cf. **Leobrant* and **Actard*.

man F 1051, and *Luzardus* Socin p. 27, of which the first members may be original hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hlod-*, *Hlud-* (cf. *Lutze* = *Ludewig* Stark p. 77); in such case *Losward* (with *s* for *z*, see *Azelin*) would be a variant of OG *Ludewart* F 855. Finally, it remains to be taken into account that it may be a hybrid form of Germanic *-ward* and some non-Germanic element; cf. e. g. *Los-* in Celtic names, Holder p. 289.

***Lutin, Lotyn**: *Luttinus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 182; *Lotyn* de Paris (Linc.) RH I p. 385 (Edw. I.).

OF *Lotin*, *Lutin* (Langlois pp. 405, 409) dim. forms of OG *Lodo*, *Lotto*, *Ludo*, *Lutto* (F 849), short forms of compounds with *Hlod-*, *Hlud-* (see **Hludowic*). *Loten* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 182) is probably = *Loðen*, see Björkman, Pers. p. 92.

Lyard, see under **Liudhard*.

Lyggard, see **Leodgard*.

M.

Maald, see *Mahtild*.

Macharius (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 350, LVD pp. 14, 55.

Cf. *Macarius*, *Macharius* F 1069, which he explains from **mag* (related to *magan* 'können' and OHG *magan* 'Kraft, Macht') + *hari* (see *Aeðelhere*), but he observes that it may sometimes be of Greek origin. Holder (p. 363) explains the same name as partly Greek, partly Celtic. — Of Celtic origin are also *Machel* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 182) < *Macelus*, Holder p. 369, *Macus*, *Machus* (ibid. p. 182) < *Macus*, Holder ibid.; *Macca(n eige)* (KCD 1069) < *Macco*, Holder p. 365, and some other compounds with *Mac(c)-* in OE and ME times.

Madfrey, see *Mat(e)frid.*

***Maginarius**, *Maginario* abbate (probably of the Abbey of St. Denis in France) BCS 259 (AD 790).

OG *Maginhar, -heri, Maginarius*, etc. F 1077. The first member is OHG *magan* (OS *megin*, OE *mægn*) 'Kraft, Stärke'; for the second member see *Aeðelhere*[1].

Magnard, Mainard, Meinard: *Magnard* mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 83, 102; *Mainard* (Wilts.), *Mainardus* (Hants., Norf.), *Mainardus* (Linc.), *Mainardus* (homo Rogeri Pictaviensis, Linc.), *Meinardus* (homo abbatis de S. Bened., Norf.), *Meinardus* vigil (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 183, 353; *Mainardum* (acc.) Flandrensem ESC p. 132 (AD 1144).

OG *Maganhard, Maginard, Mainard* (very common), *Meginard, Meinard* F 1076 f. For the members see **Maginarius* and **Actard.*

Mahald, Mahild, see the following name.

Mahtild, Mathild, Matild etc.: *Mahtild* (Willelmes cynges cwen)[2] AS Chr. 1083 E = *Mathild* ibid. 1067 D = *Mathildis* regina Ellis, Intr. I p. 452; *Matheld, Mathild, Mathila, Mathildis* ibid. II pp. 184, 352; *Matilda* (daughter of Will. the Conq.) FNC III p. 660; *Mahtild* LVD p. 52; *Mathildis* (wife of Rodbertus le Peiteuin) ibid. p. 80; *Matildis* ibid. pp. 3, 15, 16, 17, 19, 27, 34, 59, 64, 83, 84, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 108; *Matild(a)* ibid. pp. 23, 88, 97, 101; *Matilda* de Clare (Countess of Gloucester) RM I p. 260; *Matildis* de Evereus Ann. Wig. p. 534 (AD 1297); Edith-*Matilda*[3] (wife of Henry I. and daughter of King Malcolm of Scot-

[1] With the exception of *Mægenhere*, which Searle gives from LVH, other instances of this name are lacking in OE.

[2] Sister of Baldwin VI., Count of Flanders, see FNC II p. 304.

[3] "To please Norman ears, Eadgyth had, most likely at the right of her crowning, to change her English name for the continental *Matilda*, just as, to please English ears, Emma had once to change her continental name for English Aelfgivu" FNC V p. 169.

land) = *Magtild* regina LVD p. 2 = *Mahalde* (acc.) AS Chr. 1100; *Matilda* (daughter of Eustace of Boulogne and Queen of Stephen) FNC V p. 244; *Matilda* (daughter of Henry I.) FNC V p. 195; *Matilda* (daughter of Fulk of Anjou and wife of William Aetheling) FNC V pp. 183, 193; *Matilda* (daughter of Wigod)[1] ibid. IV p. 734; *Matilda* (daughter of Waltheof) FNC IV p. 605 = *Mahald* Reg. Lib. p. 151; *Machtild* (surname, Suff.) RH II p. 192; *Mahild*, *Mahald*, *Mahalt*, *Mahaut*, *Maholt*, *Maald*, *Mauld(e)*, *Mald* LVD pp. 16, 17, 19, 32, 47, 50, 53, 57, 61, 64, 70, 71, 78, 79, 80, 82, 112, 130; *Mahald* vel *Matilda* ibid. p. 18; *Mahald* (mother of Simon de Beauchamp) CMR I p. 143 (AD 1124—30); *Mahalt* (mother of King Henry II., cf. above) Chr. Jord. Fant. v. 383; *Maude* (surname) RH II p. 674; see further Bardsley p. 521.

OG *Mahthild(a)*, *Mathilda*, *Mat(t)ild(a)*, etc. F 1084, OF *Maheut*, *Mahaut* Langlois p. 413. The first member is OHG *maht* (OE *meaht*, *miht*) 'Macht', which does not occur in native OE p. ns. On the spellings *th*, *t* see Braune, Ahd. Gr. § 154, 5, Franck, Afr. Gr. § 113 and Beckmann p. 86. For the OF loss of the dental see Schultz p. 190 and Kalbow p. 135. For the second member and its NF development see *Iseldis* above. *Mihthild* BCS 711 (AD 936) has been identified as *Mechtild*, mother of the German Emperor Otto.

***Malencia**, *Maienciam* (acc.) RCR II p. 141 (AD 1199).

OG *Maganza*, *Maginza*, *Meginza* (F 1072) dim. derivatives from the name-stem *Magin-* (see **Maginarius*). For similar formations see Stark p. 75 f., Socin p. 61[2].

Maillard, **Maylard**: *Maillard* (surname, Nott.) Rot. Fin. p. 546 (AD 1214); Raoul *Maillart* Rot. Orig. II p. 295 (Edw. III.); Walteri (gen.) *Maylard* (Ess.) RB p. 804.

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[1] According to FNC ibid. she had probably changed her name like Eadgyth.

[2] To be kept distinct is the OF pl. n. *Maience*, *Maiance*, present *Mayence*.

OF *Maillart* (Langlois p. 419), derived by Kalbow (p. 123) from an OG etymon **Magilhard*. Cf. the compounds *Magelpertus* (*Maiolbertus*), *Magel-*, *Maielpotus*, *Magelfred*, *Magelgard* (Bruckner p. 282, F 1070), of which the first member is considered to be an extension of *Mag-* (see *Macharius*). Cf. also the Celtic name-stem *Magl-* < **maglo-s* 'Vornehmer'. It seems most probable that *Maillart* is a hybrid form on Rom. soil where *-hard* had assumed the nature of a suffix from its frequent occurrence in p. ns.

Mainard, see *Magnard*.

***Mainfrid**, *Mainfridus* (Som., Nott.), *Mainfridus* (homo Radulfi de Limesi, Nott.), *Meinfridus* (et Robertus, Som.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 351, 353.

OG *Maginfrid*, *Meginfrid*, etc. (very common) F 1074 f., OF *Mainfrois* Langlois p. 419. For the members see **Maginarius* and *Amelfrid*. Cf. also **Manfrid* below.

Maino seu *Manno* (North.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 449; *Maino* (Oxf.), *Maigno* seu *Maino* Brito (Buck., Leic.) *Maino* quidam (Oxf.) ibid. II pp. 183, 351; *Mainonem* (acc.) camerarium de Lewes Ped. Fin. I p. 6 (AD 1190).

OG *Megino*, *Meino*, *Magno*, Mod. G. *Maine*, (*Magina*, *Maina*, fem.) F 1071, hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Magin-* (see **Maginarius*). In the spelling *Manno*[1] above, *nn* is probably used to denote *n* 'mouillé', and the same is also the case with *ign* in *Maigno*[2].

Maingod (surname) RC p. 197 (AD 1213—14); *Maingat* de Metulo ibid. p. 59 (AD 1200); *Meingot* Naper (Ess.) Rot. Fin. p. 264 (AD 1205).

OF *Maingot* (Langlois p. 419) < OG *Megingaud* (very common), *Meingaud*, *Meingot*, etc. F. 1075. For the members see **Maginarius* and *Aingot*.

Maisent LVD p. 59; *Maisent* (Yorks.) Rot. Canc. p. 290; *Maisenta* (Linc.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 320 (AD 1259—60);

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[1] Cf. also the p. n. *Manno*, Björkman, Pers. p. 95.

[2] See Menger p. 88.

Maiesent Wint. DB p. 537; *Meisente* (dat.) ibid. I p. 115 (AD 1224); *Maysant* (Yorks.) Ped. Fin. II p. 91 (AD 1197); *Maysanta* (Dev.) Plac. p. 170 (Edw. I.); *Maysanda* (wife of Radulfus de Armeley, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 434 (AD 1266).

OF *Maissent* (Langlois p. 420), by Kalbow (p. 121) derived from OG *Mathasuent(a)*[1], with OF loss of intervocalic *d* (< *þ*) and preservation of the composition-joint *a* as *i*. Another OG etymon, however, might also be taken under consideration, viz. **Magisind*, *Megisend* (F 1070), of which the first member is *Mag-*, see **Macharius*. For the second member see *Alsent*.

Mald, see *Mahtild*.

Mal-: for compounds with this element see under *Malger*.

Malger (Dors., Som., etc.), *Malgerius* (Kent), *Malgerus* (Suss., Hants.), *Malgerus* (homo Episcopi Lincoliensis) Ellis Intr. II p. 351; *Maugeri* (gen.) de Sco Albino Rot. Orig. I p. 83; *Malgerus* de Contreu RCR II p. 107 (AD 1199); *Malgiers* (filius Hugonis) RB p. 413 (AD 1166).

Malger (Rom.) and *Madalger* F 1113, OF *Maugier* Langlois p. 444. *Mal-* is certainly in many cases < *Madal-* (related to Goth. *maþl* 'Versammlungsort, Markt', and OE *mæþel* 'Versammlung')[2]. But besides, there probably existed a name-stem **Mala-* which Kögel, AfdA 18, 58, assumes to be related to Greek μόλις 'mit Mühe' and μαλερός 'gewaltig, stark'. Cf. also Wrede, Ostg. p. 143, who points to similar Celtic formations. For the second member see *Berenger*.

Mal- occurs in England in several other p. ns of which the origin is more or less difficult to determine: **Malbert* (*Mauberti* (gen.) BB p. 42, *Malbart* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 300, and the pl. n. *Malbertorp* (Linc.) RCR II p. 62, AD

[1] Cf. Schönfeld p. 165, F 1110.

[2] Cf. also the pl. n. *Mæþelgares byrig* (*Maugersbury*, Glouc.) BCS 882 (AD 949) perhaps containing a native p. n. from which ME *Malger* might sometimes be derived. See further Stark p. 49 and Sievers, IF IV p. 336.

1199) is probably of OG origin (cf. *Malbertus* Bruckner p. 283 and OF *Malbert* Langlois p. 422); *Maugodi* (gen.) RC p. 154 (AD 1205) is probably a mistake for *Mangodi* (see below); *Malerus* Abbr. Plac. p. 188, is perhaps from OG *Madal-*, *Madelhere* F 1114; for *Malgrim* see Björkman, Pers. p. 94; *Maluinum*[1] (acc.) BCS 250 (AD 787) perhaps < OG *Madalwin* F 1115. *Malisii* (gen.) comitis de Strathern[2] Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 90 is certainly Celtic (< *Maol Ioso* 'disciple of Jesus', according to Yonge p. 260); cf. also the Celtic names *Malcolm*, *Mælpatric*, etc. Finally, *Mal-* in ME surnames is sometimes < OF *mal* (< Latin *malum*), e. g. *Maldoith*, *Maldvith* Ellis, Intr. I p. 449 = the common ME form *Mauduit* (*Maldut*, *Maudut*, etc. < *maledoctus*), and *Malpertus* BB p. 357 (AD 1166), etc.

Manbodo (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 352.

The second member (for which see *Anderboda* above) points to continental origin, though the present compound does not seem to be on record. It is not impossible, however, that *Man-* stands for *Main-* (see *Manfred* below); cf. OG *Mainbod*, *Meginbodo*, etc. F. 1073.

Maneboia (Medesh.) BCS 1130 (AD 972—992).

This name is certainly not English, but does not seem to be on record on the continent, any more than other compounds with *-boia* (see *Boia* above). Is it a hybrid formation coined on Rom. soil or in England with this element and *man* 'Mann'?

***Manfrid**: *Manfridus* Lib. Eliens. p. 497; *Manfredus* (presbiter cardinalis) RM I p. 358, CMR II p. 162 (AD 1185—87) = *Mainfredi* presbyteri ibid. p. 184; *Manfred* de Palastrell (Lond.) CPR I p. 166 (AD 1285); Bernardus *Manifred* Bardsley p. 511; *Maunfrey* (surname) RH II pp. 482, 665.

OG *Manfred* F 1091, OF *Manfrois* Langlois p. 427. For

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[1] Mentioned as 'lector' in a report of the legates George and Theophylact of their proceedings in England.

[2] Cf. FNC V p. 300.

the first member see the preceding name, for the second member, *God(e)frid*. The interchange of *Main-* and *Man-* is also found in OF *Mainfrois* for *Manfredus*, see Kalbow, p. 26. For *Maun-* see Behrens p. 77. Cf. *Meinfridus* below.

Manger RH II p. 805; *Manger* (surname) ibid. pp. 239, 556, 558; *Mangar* (surname) ibid. pp. 581, 583, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 526; *Maungerson* (surname) Pt. Y p. 218 (AD 1379).

These forms are probably in many cases = *Mauger* < *Malger* (see above), which is fairly common from DB onwards. The form *Maungerson* (for *Maun-* see the preceding name) proves, however, that *Manger* also existed. *Mangar* is not on record in OE and is rarely met with in OG; cf. F 1091, Winkler p. 250.

Mangod, **Manegod**, **Manegot**: *Mangod*, *Manngod* mon. (Eadwig, Aethelred II., Cnut) Grueber pp. 159, 160, 214, 246, Hildebrand pp. 55, 205; *Mangodo*[1] (dat) BCS 1309 (AD 978); *Mangode* (dat.) Thorpe p. 638; *Manegot* (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 183; *Manegod* (surname, Buck.) RH II p. 353 (Edw. I.); the pl. n. *Manegodesfeld*, *Manecotesfeld* (*Mangotsfield*, Glouc.) Ann. Theokesb. p. 81 (AD 1231), Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 84 (AD 1250).

Baddeley (p. 105) explains the first member of *Mangotsfield* as an OE p. n. *Mangod* : *Manegot* and adds: "The Anglosaxons used both this one and *Godeman*". From the spelling it is not to be seen whether *God-* is OE *gōd* 'good' or *gŏd* 'god' and from the NE forms we can only draw the conclusion that *Gōd-* was used an OE name-element. Cf. e. g. NE *Goodman* (< *Gōdman*)[2], *Goodrich* (< *Gōdric*), *Goodwin* (< *Gōdwine*). As regards NE *Gŏdman*, *Gŏdrich*,

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[1] The same person appears as *Mangoda* (nom.), *Manegodan* (dat.), ibid.

[2] The pl. n. *Godmanchester* [*Gvmsistə*] represents a development *Gōdm-* > *Gūdm-* > *Gŭdm-* > *Gŭm* > *Gvm-*.

Gŏdwin they may be from *Gŏd-*, but it is equally possible that they may have arisen through shortening of the *ō* in *Gōd-* before the transition of ME *ǭ* > *ū*. From the occurrence of *Got-* and *Guð-* in OG and ON p. ns, we may, however, be allowed to presume the existence of *Gŏd-* in OE p. ns, too. Which of these two name-elements does Baddeley assume to constitute the second member of *Mangod*? The ON equivalent of OE *gōd* is, as far as my knowledge goes, not found in that function and of OG p. ns F (659) mentions the uncertain *Autgodo*, *Filogud* and *Megingodi* (gen.) as perhaps containing *-gōd*. As regards *gŏd* it is certainly found in some O Icel. p. ns given by Lind (366), e. g. **Farmaguð*, **Hangaguð*, *Haptaguð*, etc., but it should be particularly noticed that all these forms were used as by-names of Oden and in some instances of Freya. In OG they are altogether lacking. From this state of things in the kindred Germanic dialects it will hardly be too daring to infer that names in *-god* are absent from OE, the more so as compounds with this element are of late appearance. Björkman[1] is therefore no doubt right in explaining the name-element *-god*, *-got*[2] occurring in England as ON or OG. Of the present name there is no OG equivalent given by F, but Provencial *Manigot* seems to presuppose an OG etymon **Manegaut* or **Manegot*[3]; cf. Kalbow p. 83. — As regards the moneyer's name *Leofgod*, *Liufgod* or *Livegod* (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 200, it might be a hybrid form, but it seems more probable that it is of OG origin (cf. *Liepgot*, *Liubgoz* F 1024) with the first member Anglicized,

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[1] Pers. pp. 68, 177.

[2] Cf. *Aingot* above. *-god* is either due to the AN interchange of final *d* and *t* or, when earlier instances are concerned, to WF influence ("wohl auf Grund westfr. Erweichung" Franck, Afr. Gr. § 32, 3). Most of the Cont.-Germ. p. ns in OE were no doubt introduced from some part of the WF dominion.

[3] For the first member see *Maneboia*.

since there were a considerable number of continental moneyers in England in the reign of Aethelstan[1].

Manno, see *Maino.*

Markeward (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 295 (AD 1205).

OG *Marcward, Marquard*[2], etc. (very common) F 1097 f., Pott p. 220, Carstens p. 26. Not on record in OE. *Markvarðr* Lind 766 is mostly of foreign origin.

***Marscalc,** *Marscale*[3] mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 175.

OG *Marscalc* F 1105[4]. It seems most probable that the first member is OG *mâri* (see *Aelismer*) rather than OHG *mar(a)h* (OE *mearh*) 'Pferd', which constitutes the first member of the homonymous appellative occurring as a surname from DB onwards (e. g. Goisfridus *Marescal*, Rogerus *Marescalcus*, Gilbertus *Marescallus* Ellis, Intr. I p. 451, LVD pp. 84, 96 etc.). For the second member see *Goldesscalc.*

Mas(s)elyn, see *Mazelin.*

Mat(e)frid, Matefrey, Madfrey: *Matefridus* Barlig Chr. Petr. p. 68; *Matefrey* CMR I p. 53, III p. 318, RH II p. 642; *Matfrid* ibid. p. 658; *Matefrey, Madfrey* (surnames) ibid. p. 431, Inq. Non. p. 315[5].

OG *Matfrid* (very common), *Matfred, Madfrid, Mathfrid*[6] F 1109. The first member is obscure; it might be related to *Madal-* (see *Malger*) or is to be associated with Celtic

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[1] The moneyer's name *Godgod*, London (Cnut) Grueber p. 245 is probably not an instance of reduplication, as Searle suggests, but quite simply = *God* mon., London (Cnut), the name having been written twice by mistake. In the same way *Wulfulf* mon., Linc. (Edw. the Conf.) is probably to be explained = *Wulf* mon., Linc. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 333.

[2] The first member is OHG *marka* (OE *mearc*) 'Grenze, Gebiet'; for the second member see *Beluard.*

[3] *e* for *c* is due to the likeness of these letters on the coins.

[4] Cf. also *Marescaus* de Melante, a Sarrazin, Langlois p. 432.

[5] Bardsley (p. 511) has wrongly placed this name under *Manfred.*

[6] Also occurring as OF *Mafreiz* according to Kalbow p. 135 and Provencial *Matfré*, Mackel p. 168.

matu- 'gut'[1]; cf. IF 4, 304 f. For the second member see *Gaufrid*. No OE equivalent is on record[2].

Matelina, see *Mazelina*.

Mazelin: *Mazelini* (gen.) CMR I p. 328 (AD 1252); *Mazelino* (abl.) RH II p. 159; *Mazelin* (surname) ibid. p. 795; *Mazelins* (surname) RLP p. 40 (AD 1204); *Mas(s)elyn* (surnames) Inq. Non. pp. 9, 244; *Mazalin* (surname) Cart. Eynsh. II p. 227 (AD 1220—26).

Bardsley (p. 519 under *Maslen*) suggests that *Mazelin* is < *Marcelin* (a dim. form of OF *Marcel*). Without denying the possibility of this explanation I prefer to derive it < OG *Mazelin*, *Macelin*, *Matzilin*, *Mazolin*, *Maselin*, etc. F 1107, 1120 and OF *Masselin* (a Saxon) Langlois p. 441, dim. forms of OG *Mazo*[3] F 1119. *Maceling* Rot. Obl. p. 18 (AD 1199) is probably the same name with excrescent *g*. For *s(s)* and *c* by the side of *z* see *Azelin*.

Mazelina, *Matelina* CMR I pp. 326, 328 (AD 1252), Exc. Rot. Fin. p. 349 (AD 1241); *Mazelina* (daughter of Walter de Crich, Dors.) CCR II p. 243 (AD 1280); *Mazalina* CMR III p. 253; *Mascelina* (wife of Roger de Mubray) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 264 (AD 1234); *Masceliñ* (wife of William de Kantelup) Fines I p. 78; *Mazelina* (daughter of Matild de Smalemor) RH II p. 162; *Matelina* (daughter of William Garneys) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 568 (AD 1272).

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[1] Cf. *Matomarus* Holder p. 463.

[2] *Maiffray* (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 314 (Edw. III.) might be a AN form of **Madafrid* (cf. *Maisent*), OG *Magafrid* F 1069, or OE *Meifrith* (see Müller p. 81). The p. n. **Mainfrid* (see **Manfrid*) is perhaps also to be taken into account. The surname *Macefrey*, occurring several times in ME records, is probably to be considered as a side-form of *Matefrid*. The first member *Mace-* is due to the occurrence of *Mace* by the side of *Mat(t)e* as a ME nickname of *Matthew*.

[3] Perhaps a hypochoristic form of compounds with **maþa-* or **maþal-*, for which see *Malger* and *Matefrid*. Cf. *Mathelin* = *Mascelin* (F 1109), Stark p. 84 and Bruckner p. 53. It may further have been used as a short form of *Matthew*; cf. the preceding foot-note.

Cf. the preceding name. It is possible that *Mazelina* was used as a dim. form of *Matilda* (cf. *Mazelina* daughter of *Matild* above), in which case it is probably not to be kept distinct from *Matelina* (cf. *Mettelina* = *Mathilde*, Stark p. 63). The latter name may further be a dim. form of *Margareta* (cf. *Margareta* dicta *Matila*, Socin p. 60). Finally, Miss Yonge (p. 32) mentions *Mazaline* as a French form of *Magdelaine*. Cf. also *Mazelainne*, *Maselainne* for *Madeleine* Langlois p. 436.

Medardus LVD p. 54 (13th c.); *Medardus* Lendard, goldesmyth, FY p. 171 (AD 1451); (de) Sancto *Medardo* Chr. Petr. pp. 41, 140.

The last instance refers to St. *Medard*[1] (Bish. of Noyon 530—45) who popularized this name in France. The first member is obscure. Kalbow (p. 94) considers it to be an older form of *Māt-*(?); is it perhaps < OS *mêde*, OHG *mêta* (OE *mēd*) 'Bezahlung, Lohn'? For the second member see **Actard*.

Meinard, see *Magnard*.

Meinfridus, see **Mainfrid*.

Meingot, see *Maingod*.

***Meisent**, see *Maisent*.

Mergessent LVD pp. 60, 68.

The ending recalls continental *-sent* (see *Alsent*). Is it an error for **Mercesent* (cf. OG *Marcsind* F 1097)? The form is, however, perhaps non-Germanic.

Merkebrun LVD p. 35 (12th or 13th c.).

Cf. OF *Marcabrun*[2], which Kalbow (p. 154) assumes to be a hybrid formation. On *er* for *ar* see *Arnald*.

Milesent, *Milisent* (Northampt.) RCR I pp. 29, 227 (AD 1199); *Milisent* (wife of *Milo*) ibid. p. 113 (AD 1194); *Milisent* (filia Milonis) ibid. II p. 274 (AD 1200); *Milisent(a)* (wife

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[1] On the various French forms of this name see Schätzer p. 42, Kalbow p. 94.

[2] Cf. also the fem. *Marcabruna*, Bergert p. 107.

of Hervei Bagot) Rot. Fin. pp. 217, 530 (AD 1204—14); *Milisent(a)* Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 24, 49, II pp. 193, 346, 434, 473 (AD 1219—70); *Melisenta, Milisenta* de Monte Alto (= *Milicente, Milsenta* de Mouhaute) Ann. Dunst. p. 341 (AD 1288), RM I p. 190, CRC p. 126; *Millesente* (acc.) Cruche RH I p. 503; *Milesand, Milisant* CR I p. 300, II p. 61, Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 64, Linc. Obit. p. 155, Test. Nev. p. 49; *Milesant* (surname) RH II p. 68; *Milisencia* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 423 (AD 1265), etc.

Milesindis, Milesenda, Miles(s)ent (Rom.) F 1124, Langlois p. 450. This name seems to occur exclusively on Rom. soil. The first member is probably the same as in *Milo* (below). For the second member see *Alsent.* The above forms are, at least in most cases, fem. A male equivalent is *Milessantus* (de Freisenville) RB p. 586 (AD 1211—12).

Milessantus, see the preceding name.

Milo mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 97; *Milo* monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020—38); *Milo* Crispin[1] (Surr., Berks., etc.), *Milo* portarius (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 402, 453; *Milo* LVD pp. 15, 37, 71, 82, 102, 112, etc.; *Milo* Borel ibid. p. 109; *Milo* Basset Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 473 (AD 1268); *Milo* de Verdoun Rot. Orig. I p. 290; *Milo* de Bello Campo Rot. Obl. p. 5 (AD 1199); *Milo* (chamberlain of Ricardus de Clare) Ann. Theok. p. 149 (AD 1252); *Milo* Pichard' Ped. Fin. II p. 86; *Milo* de Boun RH I p. 97; very common.

OG *Milo* (common) F 1123, OF *Milon, Miles* Langlois p. 451 ff. F (1122) and Bruckner (p. 285) associate *Mil-* with Old Slavonic *milŭ* 'barmherzig'. To judge by the OF forms, in which *i* is always preserved, and the NE forms *Milo* [*mailou*], *Miles*[2] [*mailz*], the stem-vowel would seem to be long, but is in the former case perhaps a learned spelling and in the latter due to spelling pronunciation.

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[1] Cf. FNC IV p. 39.

[2] The instances of *Miles* given by Bardsley (p. 532) are ambiguous, since it occurs only as a surname and may be = Latin *miles* 'soldier'.

Morand, **Morant**: *Moran(us)* (Chesh.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 356, LVD p. 56; *Morandus* CMR III p. 267; *Morant* Ped. Fin. I p. 27 (AD 1195); *Morant*, *Morand*, *Moraunt*, *Moraund* (surnames) RM II pp. 324, 327, Rot. Fin. p. 381 (AD 1207), Rot. Orig. I p. 284, CRC p. 347, RH I p. 390, Duc. Lanc. p. 146.

OF *Moran*, *Morant* (common) Langlois p. 469 f. The instances of this name given by F 1117[1] are probably all Rom. It seems to be < OG **Modrannus*, *Moderannus*[2] F 1130; cf. *Morandus* = *Moderandus* F ibid.

Moriland (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 356.

The second member points to continental origin, cf. *Amerland* above. *Mor-* in OG p. ns is assumed by F 1116 to be < Latin *Maurus*; Bruckner (p. 284) associates it with *maur* 'Moor, Sumpfland', "das noch im Ortsnamen *Mauringa* erhalten ist". An element *Mor-* also occurs in a few OE p. ns[3] where it is probably to be explained as OE *mōr* 'Moor'. *Mor-* is further found in Celtic p. ns. The ME surname *Morland* (e. g. Willelmus *Morland*, Ricardus *Morland* FY pp. 139, 203, AD 1426, 1480) is no doubt originally a pl. n.; cf. de *Morland* Rot. Fin. p. 355 (AD 1206).

N.

***Nadelharius**, *Nadelharium* (acc.) BCS 259 (AD 790), a monk of St. Denis in France.

Identical with *Natlahar* (Rom.) F 1155. The first member might be a WF extension of *Nâd-* occurring in OHG

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[1] Under **Maura-*.

[2] First member is OHG *muot*, OS *mōd* (OE *mōd*) 'Mut'; for second member see *Bertram*.

[3] E. g. *Moruuinus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 356, *Morulfus* ibid. p. 187. The form *Morfled* LVD p. 68 is uncertain, since the same name appears as *Merfleda* ibid. p. 60. For *Moregrim*, see Björkman, Pers. p. 96.

gi-nâda 'Gnade' but is more probably associated with Latin *natalis*. Cf. *Nadaltrudis*, Tochter der *Natalia*, Socin p. 203[1]. For the second member see *Aeðelhere*.

Nansige mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 122.

The first member might be *Nan(d)-* < **nanþ-* (see *Elinant*), but considering the fact that the present name is not on record on the continent and, moreover, OG names in *-sige* are extremely rare, it seems most likely that *Nan-* is an error for *Ean-* or some similar OE name-element.

Nardredus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 357.

Cf. the OG name-element *Nard-* F (1152 f.)[2]. But the present name is probably merely an error for *Hardred* (< OE *Heardred*). Cf. *Nuboldus* for *Huboldus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 359.

***Natelina**, *Nateliñ* uxor CR I p. 75 (AD 1206—7).

Cf. *Nadalina* (Rom.) F 1155 and **Nadelharius* above. **Natelina* is perhaps a dim. form of *Natalia*.

Niuelin (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 188; *Niuelig* ibid.; *Neuelinus* LVD p. 104 (13th c.); *Nevelyn* (surname, Yorks.) Rot. Orig. I p. 29 (Edw. I.); further instances are found in Binz (p. 205).

These forms are identical with OG *Nibelung, Nivelung, Neveling* etc. F 1161 f. For the etymology see ZfdA XII (289), XLIII (43), F 1160 ff. *Niuelin* etc. (above) is a NF form for *Niueling*. This name was no doubt borne by foreigners in England.

Norgot (Northampt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 358; *Norgodus* (Southampt.) RB p. 207 (AD 1166).

OG *Norigaud, Norgaud* and *Northgaud* F 1169, 1170. The first members are **nori-* and **norþa-*, for which see Bruckner p. 288, F 1168 and AfdA 18, 53. For the second member see *Aingot*. In *Norgiot*, Ellis, ibid., which designates the same person, *gi* might signify [*dʒ*]; cf. **Ermengot* above. The variant *Nogiold* ibid. is corrupt.

[1] OHG *nâdala* 'Nadel' is probably not to be taken under consideration.

[2] Cf. *Nardulus* = *Eginhardulus* Socin p. 193.

O.

Odard: *Odardus* balistarius (Surr.), *Odard* (Chesh.), *Odardus* (Leic., Linc., Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 457, II p. 360; *Odardi* (gen.) Chr. Petr. p. 159; *Odard(us)* Rot. Obl. p. 145, CR II p. 83, Plac. p. 124; *Odardus* (vicecomes Northymbrensium) Sim. Durh. I p. 116 (AD 1121); *Odard* de Karleolo Abbr. Plac. p. 66 (John); *Odard(us)* LVD pp. 15, 52, 53, 55, 60, 69; *Odard* (surname) CR I pp. 62, 63 (AD 1206); etc.

OG *Authart*, *Othard*, *Odard* (Rom.) F 194 f., *Odard* Chr. Norm. III 557. For the first member see *Audoenus*. *Od-* might further belong to OS *ôðal*, OHG *uodal* 'Erbgut'[1]. For the second member see **Actard*. The form *Udard(us)*, sometimes met with in ME records[2], is an AN variant of *Odard*[3]. In other cases *Ud-* may stand for *Wud-*, e. g. in *Udeman* Ellis, Intr. II p. 248, = *Wudeman*.

Odbert, Otbert: *Otbert* mon. (At. Eadmund) Keary pp. 123, 124; *Odbertus* (Surr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 360; *Otbertus* (Yorks.), *Otbertus* (Surr., Hertf., etc.), ibid. pp. 199, 364; *Outbert* (Linc.) ibid. p. 199; *Odberd* LVD p. 53; *Odbard* Abbr. Plac. p. 35.

OG *Aud-*, *Aut-*, *Od-*, *Otbert* F 190, OF *Obert* Langlois p. 492. For the members see *Odard* and *Adalbert*. The form *Outbert* is due to the influence of ON *Auð-* (*Ouð-*); see Björkman, Pers. p. 106. For *Autbert* (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 375, II p. 45 cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 66.

***Odbold**, *Otbold(us)* (Dors., Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 364.

OG *Od-*, *Otbald*, *Otbold* etc. (common) F 189. For the

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[1] Cf. Bruckner p. 288 f., ZfdA 43, 24.

[2] E. g. RCR II p. 30 (AD 1199), Fines I p. 233, Reg. Lib. p. 110. *Udardi* (gen.) de Baenb' AC p. 33 (AD 1133) is, according to Genealogist, Jan. 1888, identical with *Odard*, Sheriff of Northumberland.

[3] Cf. Stimming p. 190 f.

members see *Odard* and *Albod(o)*. The OE equivalent is *Eadbeald*.

***Odelard**, *Odelardi* (gen.) MRS p. 65; *Oidelard(us)* (Kent, Hants. etc.), *Oilard* lardarius (Hunt.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 361; *Oyl(l)ard* (surname) Rot. Fin. p. 307 (AD 1205) CR II p. 122 (AD 1226); *Olardi* (gen.) RCR I p. 216 (AD 1198).

OG *Odalhard, Odel(h)ard, Odilard* etc. (also frequent in Rom. sources) F 1187 f. The first member is OS *ôðil*, OHG *udil*, *uodal* (OE *ēðel*). The OE noun *oðal* was not used as a name-element[1]. *Oilard* is probably from *Odelard* with loss of the dental. Is *Oidel-* a blending of *Oil-* and *Odel-*? For *Ol-*[2] < *Odel-* see Bruckner p. 289.

***Odelbert**, *Odulbert* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 121, 122.

OG *Odalbert, Odelbert* etc. F 1184 f. For the members see **Odelard* and *Adalbert*. *u* (in *Odulbert*) is perhaps a mistake for *a*. *Oðelbyrhte* (dat.) KCD 1290 (c. AD 995) might be an Anglicized form of the same continental name but is rather an error for *Oeðelbyrhte*; *Oeðel-* for *Ēðel-* is not unfrequently found in the charters.

Odelerius[3] FNC IV p. 495 f.; *Olerius* CCR II p. 234 (AD 1280).

OG *Odelhar, -her, Odeler(ius)* etc. F 1188. For the members see *Odelard* and *Aeðelhere*.

Odelin, see Björkman, Pers. p. 103, Namenk. p. 64.

Odelina: *Odolina*, Ellis, Intr. I p. 458; *Odeline* (gen.) RH II p. 84; *Odelina* Abbr. Plac. p. 98, Ped. Fin. IV p. 31, CR I p. 4, etc.

Cf. *Odelina* (Rom.) F 1184 and the preceding name. This name as well as *Odelin* are probably dim. forms of *Odo*, *Oda* but might also be dim. forms of compounds with *Odel-*.

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[1] For second member see **Actard*.

[2] *Ol-* in *Olbolt, Olgrim, Oluuardus* etc. in DB is < *Wulf-* or *Ulf-*, see Björkman, Pers. p. 166, foot-note 2.

[3] A priest of Orléans, who came into England as a follower of Roger of Montgomery; he is the father of the well known Orderic Vitalis.

***Odelric**, *Oðelric* mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 151.

Cf. OG *Odalric* etc. (very common) F 1190 f. For the members see **Odelard* and *Alberic*. *ð* in the above name may well be *d*, since these letters are not seldom confused on the coins. In LVD p. 13 (13th c.) we find a form *Oðelrig*, occurring between the names *Auun* and *Afun* (for which see Björkman, Pers. p. 24). This form is perhaps due to ON influence. Cf. *Oðalrikr* (German?) Lind 799. Is *Odalrinus* LVD p. 47 a mistake for *Odalricus*?

[**Odeman** Ellis, Intr. II p. 190 is certainly not to be derived from OG *Autman*, *Otman* (Mod. G *Odeman*, *Ottman*) F 198, but is an AN form of OE *Wudeman*, occurring as *Wodeman* Ellis, Intr. II p. 416].

Oder: *Oderus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 90 = *Odarus* (Norf.) ibid. p. 360; *Oder* LVD p. 52.

These forms are perhaps ON[1]. Cf. also OG *Aud-*, *Odher*, *Other*[2] (Mod. G *Oder*), etc. F 195, OF *Odier* Kalbow p. 133. — As regards *Oter*, occurring as the name of a moneyer of Offa, Keary p. 25, it is probably OG[3]. Later instances are as a rule uncertain, because they may stand for *Ohter* (cf. *Oter*, Sim. Durh. II p. 93, = the Earl *Ohter* in AS Chr. 911 D)[4]. The ME surname *Oter* is probably in most cases originally an appellative; cf. Isabella le *Oter* RM I p. 146.

Odeua (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190.

OG *Odigeba*, *Odgiva*[5] etc. F 192. The OE equivalent is *Eadgifu*, appearing in DB as *Edina*, *Edeua* (Ellis, Intr. II pp. 82, 83).

***Odeward**, *Otheward* LVD p. 7 (13th c.).

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[1] Cf. Björkman, Namenk. p. 64.

[2] For the members see **Odard* and *Aeðelhere*.

[3] Of continental origin is probably also (Walterius filius) *Other*, Ellis, Intr. I p. 504.

[4] The pl. n. *Otereshol* contains OE *oter*, see Middendorff p. 100.

[5] For first member see **Odard;* second member is OHG *gëba* (OE *gifu*) 'Gabe'.

Cf. OG *Audoard*, *Odoard*[1] etc. F 203. The first member of the above form has perhaps been influenced by ON *Auð-*.

Odfrid (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190. For this name and *Oudfride* ibid. p. 199 see Björkman (Pers. p. 106).

Odger, **Og(g)er**: *Ogerius* Brito (Linc.), *Ogerus* Brito (Leic., Linc., etc.), *Ogerius* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 458, II p. 361; *Ogerus* LVD pp. 55, 57; *Ogerum* (filium *Ogeri*) KC p. 149; *Odger* de Eyton CCR II p. 382 (AD 1290); *Odgerus* de Waltone CMR II p. 327, *Odgar* RC p. 180; *Oger(us)* CMR I p. 172, Fines I p. 235; *Ogger* Ped. Fin. I p. 158 (AD 1196); the pl. n. *Ogerstone*, *Otegarstone*, *Otegerstone* CMR II p. 304, RM II pp. 274, 275; see further Bardsley p. 566.

Cf. OG *Autger*, *Odger*, *Otker*[2], *Og(g)er*, *Od-*, *Otgar* etc.[3] F 192 f. On the loss of the dental and the assimilation of *dg* > *gg* see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Mackel p. 163. In OF we find the form *Ogier* le Daneis (Langlois p. 495) which is from **Odger* (cf. *Oddgeirr* Danski Lind 801 and *Udgerus*, *Otgerus* Danus by the side of *Olger* Danske, Nielsen p. 69). In England we meet with *Oggerus*, *Oggirus* le Daneis Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 58 (AD 1202). Cf. also *Ogerus* (filius Ungemar)[4] Ellis, Intr. I p. 458. Hence the above-mentioned forms may be of ON as well as of OG origin.

Odierna de Luserñ (Buck.) RCR II p. 262 (AD 1200); *Odierna* LVD p. 65; *Odiern̄* (Wilts.) Rot. Fin. p. 236 (AD 1204); *Odierne* (surname) RH II pp. 382, 384; *Hodyern'* (Suss.) Inq. Non. p. 396.

OF *Odierne*, Langlois p. 492, *Odierna*, *Hodierna* (several instances) Schultz p. 201. The latter, who has dealt with

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[1] For the members see **Odard* and *Beluard*.

[2] The form *Otcer*, KCD 981, might belong here but is perhaps non-Germanic. Many Welsh names occur in the same charter.

[3] For the members see **Odard* and *Beringer*.

[4] = *Ungeman*, for which see Björkman (Pers. p. 170).

this name in detail, derives it from OG **Audigerna*[1] but suggests that Breton **Alt-tigern* may have been confused with the OG form.

Odil (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 190.

Cf. *Odilus*, *Odelus* (Rom.), *Uodal* etc. F 1183, OS *Odil* Heyne p. 21. See **Odelard* above.

Odilo mon. (Eardwulf-Aethelred II.) Keary pp. 143, 156, 180, 199(?); *Odilo* prior de Bermundeseie, Ann. Berm. p. 445 (AD 1220).

OG *Odilo* (very common) F 1183, a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Odil-*, see **Odelard*, or a hypochoristic dim. form of *Odo* (below).

Odinel, see Björkman, Pers. p. 103, Archiv 123, p. 36.

Odlent CCR III p. 71 (AD 1306); *Olenta* (wife of Walter de Rudes) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 76, CR I p. 482 (AD 1221); *Olencia* (Berks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 86 (AD 1222).

OG *Audelinda*, *Odelindis*, *Odelenda* (Rom.), *Ollind* etc. F 197 f. For the member see **Odard* and *Godelent*. *Olencia* is Latinized on the model of such names as *Clemencia*, *Laurencia*.

Odo, Oda, Oddo, Ot(t)o: *Oda* dux BCS 393 (AD 826); *Oda*, *Odo* episcopus KCD 352, 354, 355, 356, 357, 379, etc. (AD 930—940) = *Odo* Dorobernensis archiepiscopus ibid. 390, 395, 401, 403; *Odo* Scyrburnensis episcopus KCD 344 (AD 927); *Oda* min. ibid. 1111, 1117, 1136 (c. AD 938); **Oda* (Odan) mon. (Aethelstan-Cnut) Grueber pp. 118, 123, 136, 191, 215, 297, 300, Hildebrand pp. 61, 120, 153, 154, 163, 213, 284, 312, 475; *Odo* mon. (Edw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 83, 102; *Odda* mon. (Aethelred II.) Hildebrand p. 61; *Odda* miles KCD 764 (AD 1042); *Oda* min. ibid. 1309 (c. AD 1014); *Odo* Baiocensis Episcopus[2], *Odo*

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[1] For first member see **Odard;* second member is a fem. derivative from *-gern* (OHG *gërn*, OE *georn* 'gern'), recorded in Gaule in the name *Audiernus* (Schultz p. 203).

[2] Half-brother of William the Conqueror and Earl of Kent, see FNC II p. 210.

arbalistarius[1] (Yorks., Linc.), *Odo* (filius Eurebold, Dors.), *Odo* (filius Gamelini, Som.), *Odo* Flandr. (Som.), *Otto* aurifaber[2] (Ess.), *Odo* (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Linc.) etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 458, 462, II pp. 189, 360; *Odo*, a Norm. abbot of Chertsey FNC IV p. 390; *Odo*, *Oda*, *Otto*, *Otho* LVD pp. 2, 12, 23, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 55, 56, 60, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 78, 87, 96, 101, 107, etc.; *Odo*, *Otto* (diaconus cardinalis) Chr. Petr. p. 14 (AD 1237); *Odonis* (gen.) de Hispania RB p. 588 (AD 1211—12), RM I p. 351; *Otto* de Grandisono (Surr.) CRR p. 109 (Edw. I.); *Odonis* (gen.) de Groningen CR I p. 604 (AD 1224); *Ot(t)o* CR I p. 422, RH II pp. 122, 141, Ped. Fin. I pp. 5, 8, Plac. pp. 119, 354, Rot. Orig. I p. 262, etc.; the pl. ns *Ottan forda* AS Chr. 773 A, *Otansihtre* KCD 179 (AD 801), *Otanhyrst* ibid. 198 (AD 811); *Odingalea* ibid. 209 (AD 816), *Oddan heal* BCS 765 (AD 941); cf. further Björkman Pers. p. 99 ff.

The above instances have been placed together, though they are in many cases of different origins. It would be a useless task, however, to try and keep them distinct in detail. On the ON influence see Björkman (Pers. p. 99 f. and Namenk. p. 66). *Odo* (*Oddo*) is further a very common NF p. n.[3] and has also in some cases been introduced into England by Flemings and Germans. *Otto*[4], originally an OHG form, was popular also outside the OHG district. To judge by the comparatively late appearance of this name in England, it has perhaps in all instances been introduced from abroad. Cf. Björkman (Pers. p. 100).

Odomer (?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 121; the form *Odomoner* occurring on another coin is the same name.

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[1] One of the foreign adventurers accompanying Will. the Conqueror, see FNC IV p. 216.

[2] = *Otho*, *Otto* aurifaber ibid. II pp. 364, 365.

[3] In most cases hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Od-*, see **Odard*.

[4] Cf. also the dim.-form *Otelinus* (Ferre) = *Otto* (Ferre) CPR II pp. 224, 232 and *Otelinus* Alemaund ibid. IV p. 138.

Cf. OG *Audomar*, *Odmar*, *Otmar* etc. F 198. For the members see **Odard* and *Ainmer*.

***Odred**, *Odredo* (dat.) RH II p. 271.

Cf. OG *Odrad*[1] etc. F 199, OF *Otré* Langlois p. 510 f.

Odulf mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 122, 136.

Cf. OG *Odulf*[2] F 204 f. See Björkman (Pers. p. 107).

Og(g)er, see *Odger*.

Oggod BCS 1130 (AD 972—992); the same p. n. enters into the pl. n. *Oggodestûn*, *Oggedestune* KCD 710, 1298 (AD 1002, 1004).

The geminated consonant is certainly due to assimilation of *dg* > *gg* (cf. *Odger*). The etymon is probably OG *Odgaud* (*Autgoz* etc.)[3] F 193 f. Cf. also *Auðgautr* Lind 97.

Ogisus (Dors., Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 361.

OG *Autgis*, *Otgis*[4] etc. F 194; cf. also ON *Auðgísl* Lind 97. The loss of the dental is probably NF; cf. Kalbow p. 83.

Oidelard, **Oilard**, see **Odelard*.

Oirant, Oiranti (gen.) (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 459, II p. 191.

This might be an OF form of OG **Audaramnus* (cf. *Audoramnus*, *Auderamnus*, *Auteramnus*[5] etc. F 196 f.) which would easily become *Oïrant*. Or is it from an etymon **Odilramnus* (cf. *Odilcramnus* F 1189), the first member showing a development analogous to that of *Oilard* (see **Odelard*)? The loss of *l* might be due to assimilation of *lr* > *rr* and simplication of the geminated consonant.

***Olard**, see **Odelard*.

Olencia, see *Odlent*.

Olenta, see *Odlent*.

***Omeric**, see *Amalric*.

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[1] For the members see **Odard* and **Amaldredus*.

[2] For the members see **Odard* and *Adelulfus*.

[3] For the members see **Odard* and *Aingot*.

[4] For the members see **Odard* and *Ansegis*.

[5] See **Odard* and *Bertram*.

Omulung abbas BCS 116 (AD 706) = *Omolincg* abbas ibid. 76 (AD 691—92) = *Homolunch* abbas ibid. 118 (AD 706).

For this name, which is < OG *Amalung*, *Amelung* etc. F 90, I refer the reader to Binz p. 213.

Orielda (wife of Thom' Crawe, Yorks.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 37 (AD 1219); *Oriolda* (wife of Willelmus le Bret) Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 116 (AD 1208); *Oriolda*, *Oriolt* de Ainderby Abbr. Plac. pp. 58, 151 (John).

Both *Orieldis* and *Orioldis* occur in Pol. Irm. and some other Rom. records; cf. Schultz p. 192. The first member is perhaps **aur-*[1], recorded in a number of OG p. ns; cf. *Aurildis* (Pol. Irm.) F 210. Schultz (ibid.) thinks that the first member is rather originally *Or-*. For the second member see *Iseldis*.

Orlandinus, see *Rol(l)and*.

Ostebrand (Chesh.) Ellis Intr. II p. 197.

No continental equivalent seems to be on record. The first member might be *Ost-* < **austa-* 'east', occurring as a name-element in the Germanic dialects. It seems more probable, however, that *st* is an AN spelling for *ht*[2], whence the above name will be identical with *Uctebrand* below. In the same way, *Ostred* CCR III p. 113 (AD 1308), is probably to be explained from OE *Uhtred*.

Ostula liber homo (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 198.

Perhaps to be compared to *Aostilo* and *Austolus* (F 212), dim. derivatives from *Ost-*, see the preceding name. For *-ul-* see *Ebulo* above.

Ostrilda KC p. 29.

OG *Ostarhilt*, *Ostrehildis*, *Ostrildis*[3] (Pol. Irm.) F 215.

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[1] Cf. Bruckner p. 230, Wrede, Ostg. p. 113, Meyer-Lübke p. 16.

[2] Cf. the spelling *Brist-* for *Briht-*, *Brict-* in DB (Ellis, Intr. II p. 59) and Luhmann p. 32.

[3] First member is OHG *ostar* (< **austar-*) 'nach, im Osten'; for second member see **Ainild*. An OE equivalent is *Aestorhild* LV (see Müller p. 101).

Cf., however, *Ostrilda* Sym. Durh. I p. 349, a mistake for *Ostryðe* (acc.) AS Chr. 697 E (< *Osðryð*).

Otbert, see *Odbert.*

Otbold, see **Odbold.*

Otelin, see *Odo.*

***Oðelbyrht**, see **Odelbert.*

Oðelric, see **Odelric.*

Ot(h)er, see *Oder.*

Otheward, see **Odeward.*

Otic mon. (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadwig) Grueber pp. 102, 137, 156; the same name is *Otie* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 125.

OG *Odich, Oddic, Otich, Otycus* etc. F. 188, *Otic* Socin p. 47, dim. forms of compounds with *Od-*, see **Odard.* Some instances of *-ic* in native p. ns are given by Eckhardt p. 345.

Otewi(c) (Norf.) RCR I p. 254 (AD 1199).

OG *Otwich, -wic, -wih* F 204, OF *Otoïs* Langlois p. 508. For the members see **Odard* and **Hludowic.*

Otto, see *Odo.*

Otwine mon. (Edw. the Conf.) Grueber p. 332[1]; *Otewin'* de Insula Rot. Obl. p. 168 (AD 1201); Willelmus *Otwyn*, boucher, FY p. 176 (AD 1456).

OG *Audoin, Odwin, Otwin* (very common), etc. (F 204), of which *Audoenus* (above) in many cases is a NF learned form. The OE equivalent is *Eadwine.*

Outbert, see *Odbert.*

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[1] *Otibuinro* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 124, 125, is probably a corrupt form of the same name.

P.

Pandulf, Pantulf: *Pandulfus* (Bish. of Norwich) Chr. Petr. p. 8 (AD 1223) = *Pandolfus* presbiter cardinalis RM I p. 363, Ann. Wint. p. 81 (AD 1209)[1]; Willielmus *Pantulf*, *Pantul* (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 365; *Pantulf*, *Pantolf* (surnames) Rot. Fin. pp. 460, 506, RC p. 162, RCR I pp. 18, 142, II p. 88, MRS p. 104, CR II p. 111, AC p. 36, Test. Nev. p. 55, etc.

Pandulf, *Pandolfus*, "ein in Unteritalien sehr gebräuchlicher name", F 245, Bruckner p. 232. The first member is related to Goth. *bandwa*, *bandwô*, M Lat. *bandum* 'vexillum'[2]; the initial *p* and probably also the *t* are HG. For the second member see *Adelulfus*.

Panto (surname) CR I p. 43 (AD 1205), Rot. Fin. p. 495 (AD 1213).

Cf. *Panto*, *Pando* (F 245, Pott p. 133, Stark p. 87), which might be hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Pant-*, *Pand-*; cf. the preceding name. It is possible, however, that they are non-Germanic as is certainly the name **Pantus* (*Panti* (gen.) thelonarii BCS 177, AD 748)[3].

[**Papaldus** (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 365.

The first member is rather to be associated with non-Germanic *Pappus*, *Papolenus* etc. occurring in continental records (cf. also Latin *Papus*, *Papilus*, *Papius* etc. adduced by Mowat p. 322) than with an OG name *Papo*, see F 223, whence *Papaldus* will be a hybrid form. The pl. n. *Papanholt* BCS 596 (AD 901) is probably rightly explained by Middendorff (p. 101) as containing *pâpa* 'Papst, Geistlicher'].

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[1] Cf. also Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 126.

[2] See Bruckner, ibid.

[3] Of non-Germanic origin is perhaps also *Banta* BCS 159 (AD 738), 228 (AD 779), and not an OE equivalent of OG *Panzo* (OS *bant* 'pagus') as F 246 suggests.

Pepin, see *Pip(p)in.*

Perlo (Som.) Ellis Intr. II p. 200.

An explanation of this name is given by Moorman (under *Parlington*), who says that "it is possible that it is a contracted form of OHG *Pertilo* or *Perahtilo*". It seems more likely that it is a hypochoristic form of some HG compound with *Ber-* (see *Berardin* above), such as *Perlaicus*, *Perelant*, *Perliub* etc., or a dim. form **Perilo*. Cf. F 261.

Pernier, see under *Beringer.*

Pip(p)in, Pepin: Radulfus *Pipin* (Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 367; Wills *Pippin* (Bedf.) RH II p. 323 (Edw. I.); Will *Pipin* (canon of Leicester) RCR II p. 62 (AD 1199); Hugo *Pepin* (Leic.) Rot. Orig. I p. 59, etc.

Pip(p)in (very common), *Pepin*[1] F 300. The same p. n. is probably also found in the pl. n. (of) *pippenespenne* BCS 882 (AD 949)[2]. As regards Bardsley's explanation[3] of *Pippin* as a variant of *Phippen* (< *Phip* < *Philip*), it seems improbable, since, apart from the phonetical difficulties presented by the discrepancy of the initial consonants, *Phip* does not seem to appear till a much later date. But it is not impossible that the above surnames might be from NF *pepin* (an apple), ME *pepin*, *pipin* (cf. NED), originally used as a nickname.

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[1] Borne e. g. by *Pepin l'Heristal* and *Pepin* le Bref. For this name cf. PBB 37, 122.

[2] In the pl. ns (on) *pippan slæd*, (on) *pippan lêage*, Middendorff (p. 102 f.) recognizes an adj. *pippe* 'klein, winzig'.

[3] P. 608.

R.

***Raba**, see *Rabel*.

Rabboda, see *Radbod(a)*.

Rabel: *Rabellus* artefex (Norf.), *Rabellus* carpentarius (Norf.), *Rabel* (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 470, 471, II p. 370.

OF *Rabel* Langlois p. 542 f. It is very uncertain whether this is an OF dim. form of a Germanic name *Rabo* as Kalbow[1] assumes, and the same holds good of the surname *Rabelyn* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 247 (AD 1256—57). The form *Ravelin* Ellis, Intr. II p. 204, might be NF variant of this name with regular transition of intervocalic *b* > *v*. Cf. also Björkman, Pers. p. 110.

Racelin le cordewanerius KC p. 69; *Racelin* de Belnes CCR II p. 128 (AD 1269).

Cf. OG *Razilin*, *Racelin* (F 1208), dim. forms of the common name *Razo*[2] ibid. Cf. also Stark pp. 78, 94.

Radbod(a), etc.: *Radboto* (dat.) Lincolniensi vicedomino BCS 461 (AD 851); *Radbodus* (Prior of St. Samson's monastery in France) ibid. 643 (AD 925); *Radbodus* comes ibid. 872 (AD 948); *Radboda* prepositus (Norf.) *Rabboda* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 202, 370; *Radbodus* CMR III p. 262; *Radbod* de Hengham CCR III p. 368 (AD 1317; *Radbode*, *Rabbod*, *Rabot* (surnames) RH I pp. 451, 528, Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 27, Plac. p. 189, Pipe Roll III p. 6, etc.[3]

OG *Radobod*, *Rad(e)bod*, *Ratbod*, *Rad(e)bodo*, *Rab(b)od* etc.[4] (very common) F 1209 f. On the assimilation of *db* > *bb* see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4.

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[1] P. 52. The name **Raba* (*Raban*, gen.) BCS 42 (AD 676) is equally difficult to judge. It is at any rate not of OE origin.

[2] Cf. *Razo* = *Ratfrid* Socin p. 193.

[3] *Rathbedo* (dat.) Bede, HE L V, C IX is the Frisian king *Radbod*.

[4] First member is OHG *rât* (OE *rǣd*, *rēd*) 'Rat'; cf. also Bruckner p. 291. For second member see *Anderboda*.

Radegund (abbes of Wilton 871—) according to Searle; *Radegunda* (uxor Stephani Dorneford) FA I pp. 233, 493 (AD 1428); cf. also ecclesia *S̃ce Radegundis* de Bradeshole RC pp. 12, 223 (AD 1199, 1216), *S̃ce Radegund* de Dover CR I p. 125 (AD 1212)[1].

OG *Rad(a)gundis* etc. F 1213 f. For the members see *Radbod(a)* and *Gundbert*; the OE equivalent is *Redgyth*.

Rademar (Dev.), *Rademer(us)* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370.

Cf. *Ratmar*, *Radmer* etc.[2] F 1216. No earlier instances are on record in England.

Rader, Rather, Ra(h)er: *Rader*(?) mon. (Harold I.) Grueber p. 315; *Rather(us)* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 125; *Raerus* RB p. 305 (AD 1166); *Raher* LVD p. 55 (13th c.).

OG *Radheri*, *Rathar*, *Rather*, etc.[3] (very common) F 1214. In *Ra(h)er*, the loss of *d* is NF. The name *Rædhere* occurs in Widsiþ (v. 123) as the name of a prince. For *Reder* see Björkman, Pers. p. 112.

Radfredus presbyter (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 370; *Rafridus* (Norf.), *Rafri* (Suss.) ibid. p. 373; *Raffrey* (Norf., Suff.) Pipe Roll III p. 7, etc.[4]

Cf. OG *Ratfrid*, *-fred*[5] etc. F 1211. It is not possible to determine whether the above or similar forms may sometimes be continuations of a native form *Rædfrið*. They are, however, most probably continental.

Radulf: Instanses of the various forms of this name in England are found in Björkman, Pers. p. 108 f. It was introduced either direct from Scandinavia or, in the majority of cases, from Normandy and France. Another source of

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[1] This Saint is *Radegund*, Queen of Clothar I.; she was honoured all over France. Cf. Schätzer p. 51, Bernoulli p. 80 ff.

[2] For the members see *Radbod(a)* and *Ainmer*.

[3] For the members see *Radbod(a)* and *Aeðelhere*.

[4] The form *Rasridus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 204 is a mistake for *Raffridus*.

[5] For the members see *Radbod(a)* and *Gaufrid*.

this NF name is OG *Radulf*[1], F 1219. In a few cases, *Radulf* was also borne by Flemings and Saxons in England; cf. *Radulfo* (dat.) Flemank (Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 345 and *Radulfo* (dat.) nuncio Ducis Saxonie CR I p. 546 (AD 1223).

Radwine miles KCD 754 (AD 1020—38).

OG *Radwin*, *Ratwin* etc. F 1219. For the members see *Radbod(a)* and *Amalwin*. Other OG p. ns occur in the same charter.

Rægenulf, see **Rainulf*.

Raimar clericus (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 373; *Reymer* (Suff.) FA V p. 28 (AD 1302—3).

OG *Ragimar*, *Raimar* (Rom.), *Regemar*, *Reimar* etc. F 1235. The first member is from **ragin-*, **regin-* (Goth. *ragin* 'Rat, Beschluss', OS *regin*, OE *regn*-)[2]. For the second member see *Ainmer*[3].

Raimund, **Reimund**: *Raimundus* (Ess.), Giraldus *Reimundus* (Ess.), Ellis, Intr. II p. 373; *Raimundus* Bigod (Norf.) RB p. 393 (AD 1166); *Reimundus* LVD p. 55 (13th c.); *Raimund* Jocelin Rot. Fin. p. 452 (AD 1207); *Raimundus* de Tiches (Surr.) ibid. p. 492 (AD 1213); *Reymundi* de Boceville CMR I p. 229 (AD 1207); *Reymundus* de Dynaunt FY p. 1 (AD 1273); *Reimundus* de Valentia LVD p. 101; *Reimond* de Luka Bardsley p. 638; *Reymund*, *Reymond* (surnames) RM II p. 123, Plac. p. 514, Rot. Fin. II p. 534, etc.; *Remund* LVD p. 8 etc.; common.

OG *Ragimund*, *Regemund*, *Raimund*, *Rem(m)und* F 1236. For the members see *Raimar* and *Dagemond*. *Remund* (above) is probably due to the AN monophthongization of *ai* > *e*[4]. The instances of this name in England are Rom. ***Raina**, *Reyna* vidua CMR II p. 21; *Reinna* LVD p. 50; *Rayna* ibid. p. 82.

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[1] Cf. *Radboda* and *Adelulfus*.

[2] Cf. Bruckner p. 292 f.

[3] *Reimarr*, Lind 854, is German.

[4] Cf. *Airard* above.

NF forms of OG *Regina*[1] etc. F 1222. Cf. also the male *Raino* < *Ragino* ibid. A NF dim. form of this name is *Rainetta* CCR I p. 462 (AD 1257). *Rametta* LVD p. 97, RH II p. 25, is certanly only a misreading for *Rainetta*.

Rainald, Reginald, etc.: *Rainoald*[2] mon. (Halfdan) Keary p. 203; *Reginald* de Gant CR I pp. 37, 46; *Reginald* Flemeng (Kent) Ped. Fin. III p. 147 (AD 1198); *Reginaldus* de la Legh de Brugges Rot. Orig. I p. 289; *Riginaldus* van the Brouke FY p. 171 (AD 1451); *Riginaldus* Okes, textor, ibid. p. 171 (AD 1451); Jacobus *Raynald*, hatmaker, ibid. p. 197 (AD 1476); *Ranald* Flemyng Reg. Corp. Chr. p. 171, etc.

OG *Raginald*, *Reginald*, *Rainald* (Rom.), *Reinold*, *Riginolt*, etc.[3] F 1237 f. *Reginald* is a stereotyped Latin form. *Riginald* (< *Reginald*) is probably due to the vacillation between *e* (< *a* + *i*) and *i* that is sometimes to be noticed in some OG dialects; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 13, Weinhold § 29, v. Helten § 26, remark 3. The form *Riniald* (Grueber p. 102) is probably a mistake for *Reinald*. Cf. *Rainard* below. Of the frequent instances of *Rainald*, *Reginald* in England some are also ON (cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 112), but in most cases this name was introduced from France and Normandy where both OG and ON forms will have contributed to its popularity.

Rainard, Reinard, etc.: *Reynardus* comes BCS 521 (AD 868); (Rogerus filius) *Rainardi* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 206; *Reinard* LVD p. 51 (13th c.); *Renard* (or *Rinard*) mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; *Renard* (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 283, etc.

OG *Raginhard*, *Rainard* (Rom.), *Reinard*, etc.[4] (Mod. G *Reinhardt*) F 1230 f., OF *Reinart*, *Renart* Langlois p. 549. It seems most probable that the moneyer's names *Renard*,

[1] For *Regin-* see *Raimar*.
[2] *o* for *w* is Rom.
[3] Cf. *Raimar* and *Ansoldus*.
[4] Cf. *Raimar* and **Actard*.

Rinard and *Rinnard* (see Grueber p. 83) are merely errors for *Reinard*, *i* and *e* having been left out by mistake[1]. — The form of the moneyer's name *Rinulf* Grueber pp. 142, 247, 303, etc. is uncertain. Cf. Grueber, Index p. 523.

Rainbald, Reinbold, etc.: *Rægenbald* mon. (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 201; *Rœinbaldus* presbyter KCD 791 (AD 1050) = *Regnbold*, *Regenbold* presbiter ibid. 792, 793, 796, 800, (AD 1050, 1054); *Raimboldus* ibid. 815 (AD 1065); *Reinbaldus* cancellarius ibid. 813 (AD 1062) = *Rengebold* cancheler ibid. 891[2]; *Regenboldus* regis sigillarius ibid. 810 (AD 1061); *Rainbaldus* de Cicestre, *Rainbaldus* presbyter[3] (Berks., Wilts.) *Rainbaldus* aurifaber (Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 472, II p. 374; *Reinbaldus* (*Rembaldus*) RB p. 224 (AD 1166; *Reinbald* LVD p. 54 (13th c.); *Reinbald* Grim KC pp. 46, 49; *Reymbaud* (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 179; *Rambaldi* (gen.) RH I p. 16, etc.

OG *Raginbald*, *Rainbald*, *Reginbald*, *Reinbald*[4] etc. F 1223 f., OF *Raimbaut*, *Rainbaut*, *Rambaut*, *Reinbaut* Langlois p. 543 ff. The form *Rambald* (above) might be due to OF reduction of *ai* > *a* in pretonic position but is rather a mistake for *Rainbald*. The pl. n. *Ramboldes dene* BCS 986 (AD 956) probably contains the same p. n.[5]

***Rainbert, Reinbert**: *Rainbertus* Flandrensis (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; *Reinbertus* (Suss.), ibid. p. 376; *Reinbert* LVD p. 49 (12th or 13th c.); *Reimbert* (surname) CCR II p. 88 (AD 1199); *Reimberdi* (gen.) de Stauere[6] CR I p.

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[1] *Rinardus* (occurring in a grant by Aelfthryth to the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, BCS 661, AD 918) is probably to be explained in the same way. Cf. also the compounds with *Rin-* (among others *Rinhard*) F 1277.

[2] A Norman; cf. FNC IV p. 41.

[3] = *Reinbaldus*, *Renboldus*, *Rembaldus* Ellis, Intr. I p. 398, II pp. 473, 475.

[4] Cf. *Raimar* and *Albod(o)*.

[5] Cf. also *Rambert*, etc. F 872, explained from **hraban-*; Bruckner (p. 295) associates *Ram-* with ON *ram(m)r* 'stark'.

[6] A German merchant.

604 (AD 1224); cf. also *Reginberht* who, according to Adam of Bremen, was sent to Funen by King Cnut[1].

OG *Raginbert*, *Rainbert* (Rom.), *Reginbert*, *Reinbert* etc. F 1224 f. For the members see *Raimar* and *Adalbert*.

Rainburgis (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 472.

OG *Reginburg*, *Rainburgis* (Rom.) etc. F 1226 f. For the members see *Raimar* and *Gerburg*.

Rainelmus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; *Rainalmus*, *Renelmus* (Ess.) ibid.; *Regnelm* mon. (Aethelstan), see Searle; *Rainelm*, *Reinelmus*, *Reinalmus*, *Reignelmus* (Bish. of Heref. 1107—15)[2], Ann. Wint. p. 42, Ann. Dunst. p. 14. The same person appears as *Remelinus* Ann. Wig. p. 374.

OG *Raginhelm*, *Reginhelm*, *Rainalm* (Rom.), *Reinelm* etc. F 1233. For the members see *Raimar* and **Anshelm*. The form *Remelinus* (above) is due to graphical confusion between *in* and *m*. The name *Remelinus* LVD p. 53, CMR I p. 155 (AD 1134) certainly also belongs here.

Rainer, Reiner: *Rainerus* (Norf.), *Raynerius* (pater Roberti, Hertf.), *Raynerus* diaconus (Linc.), *Rainerius* (Wilts.), *Rainerus* (Suss., Wilts., etc.), *Rainerus* (homo Drogonis, Yorks.), *Rainerus* (homo Gozelini, Linc.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II pp. 204, 205, 374, 375, 376; *Reiner(ius)*, *Reynerus* LVD pp. 17, 18, 23, 51, 52, 53, 58, 82, 142; *Ragnerus* Flandrigena (Yorks.) RB p. 426 (AD 1166) = *Reinerus* Flemingus (Yorks.) ibid. p. 431; *Reyner* le Flemeng CCR III p. 195 (AD 1312); *Reyner* (a merchant of Lucca) Giff. Reg. p. 115 (AD 1270).

OG *Raginhari*, *Rainer* (Rom.), *Reiner*[3] (common) F 1231 f., OF *Rainer*, *Renier* Langlois p. 552 ff. Most of the above instances are continental. But *Regenhere* is also found as a native name, e. g. borne by a son of King Redwald of East Anglia. Native is perhaps also *Re-*

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[1] Cf. FNC I p. 488.

[2] See FNC V p. 225.

[3] For the members see *Raimar* and *Aeðelhere*.

genhere(?) mon. (Aethelward) Keary pp. 88, 89. Of uncertain origin is *Reinere* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Rainfrid, Reinfrid: *Reinferð* mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 152; *Regenfriþ* (a Norman, who restored the monastery of Whitby) FNC IV p. 666; *Rainfridus* (homo Ivonis Taillgebosc, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 374; *Reinfredus* LVD p. 44 (13th c.); *Reinfrridus* (sic!) ibid. p. 144 (Obit.); *Rainfredus* Arundel FA I p. 227; *Reynfrey* de la Bruer' RH II p. 533; *Reinfrei* (surname) Ann. Dunst. p. 205 (AD 1205); *Reinfray* RB p. 159, etc.

OG *Raganfrid*, *Rainfrid* (Rom.), *Regenfrid*, etc. F 1227 f. For the members see *Raimar* and *Gaufrid*.

Rainoald, see *Rainald*.

***Rainulf**, *Rægenulf*, *Rænulf*, *Regnulf* mon. (Eadw. the Elder—Aethelred II.) Grueber pp. 92, 109, 118, 137, 191, 201.

Cf. OG *Raginulf*, *Reginulf* etc. F 1240. For the members see *Raimar* and *Adelulfus*.

***Rainward**, *Regenward* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102; *Regenweard*, mercator BCS 1216 (AD 968); *Raynouuardus* (Derb.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 376; *Reynward* (surname) Inq. Non. pp. 344, 345; *Reneward* MRS p. 145.

OG *Raginward*, *Reginward*, *Rainoard* (Rom.), etc. F 1239. For the members see *Raimar* and *Beluard*. Stimming p. 220 adduces *Reneward* in Boeve as an example of insertion of *w* to avoid hiatus, which explanation might perhaps also be applicable to the above form. It is more probable, however, that the identity of *Reneward* and *Renard* is due to a confusion between the suffixes *-ward* and *-(h)ard*.

Rambald, see *Rainbald*.

Ranald, see *Rainald*.

Ran(n)ulf: *Ranulf* mon. (Osberht) Keary p. 187; *Ranulf* dux KCD 800 (AD 1054); *Ranulf* minister ibid. 801 (AD 1055); *Rannulfus* (Oxf.), *Rannulfus* (frater Ilgerii, Midd., Hertf., etc.), *Rannulfus* (filius Walteri, Norf., Suff.), *Rannulfus* (homo Ernegis de Burun, Yorks.), *Rannulfus* (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.), *Rannulfus* vicecomes (Surr.),

etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 473, II pp. 374, 375; *Ran(n)ulfus, Ran(n)ulf, Ranulph* LVD pp. 31, 34, 44, 46, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 70, 78, 85, 89, 97, 98, 99, 100, etc.; *Rannulfus* de Glanuile[1] ibid. p. 17; *Rannulf* of Dunholme[2] AS Chr. 1099, 1100, 1101 = *Randulf*[3] Passeflambard ibid. 1128; *Ranulphus* de Veer ibid. p. 500, etc.

OG *Hrannulf, Ran(n)ulf*, etc. F 874 f. The first member is OHG *hraban*, see *Bertram*. Besides, a name-stem **Rana-* (ON *rani* 'Eberschnauze, Keil') is to be taken under consideration[4]. Another source of the first member of this name in England may be *Rain-*. For the second member see *Adelulfus*.

Rauemerus (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 375.

This name does not seem to be recorded on the continent, but is probably from OHG *hraban* (see the following name) + *mer*, see *Ainmer*.

Rauengarius (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. pp. 204, 375.

OG *Hrabangar, Rabangar, Ravengar*, etc. F 872 f. For the first member see *Bertram*[5]; for *-gar* see *Berenger*. No ON equivalent is on record.

Reg(e)nbold, see *Rainbald*.

Regenw(e)ard, see **Rainward*.

Reginald, see *Rainald*.

Reginberht, see **Rainbert*.

Regnulf, see **Rainulf*.

Reimbert, see *Rainbert*.

Reimund, see *Raimund*.

Reinard, see *Rainard*.

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[1] Cf. FNC V p. 432.

[2] See FNC IV p. 521.

[3] For this name see Björkman, Pers. p. 111.

[4] Cf. Bruckner p. 295, Wrede, Ostg. p. 132 and Meyer-Lübke p. 42 f.

[5] This name-element is absent from OE p. ns either as a first or as a second member.

Reiner, see *Rainer*.
Remelinus, see *Rainelmus*.
Remund, see *Raimund*.
Renard, see *Rainard*.
Renelmus, see *Rainelmus*.
Reneward, see **Rainward*.
Restold: *Restoldus* (Linc.), *Restaldus*, *Restoldus* (Surr., Chesh.), *Restolt* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 475, II p. 377; *Restold*, *Restoud* CR II p. 138 (AD 1226), Fot. Orig. I p. 211, MRS pp. 2, 35, Abbr. Plac. p. 96, RH II pp. 753, 755, 761, Plac. p. 665, etc.

OG *Restald*, *Restold* F 1252, Bruckner p. 296. The first member is explained by Bruckner (p. 295) from OS *resta* 'Rast, Ruhe'. According to F, it is an almost exclusively Frankish name-stem perhaps of Celtic origin. Longnon (Intr. p. 268) explains it from Latin *Restitutus*. For the second member see *Ansoldus*[1].
Ribald (Yorks.), *Ribaldus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 377; *Ribaldus* LVD p. 58 (12th c.); *Ribaldus* presbyter ibid. p. 81 (13th c.); *Ribald* Pipe Roll I p. 15, Rot. Canc. p. 335, CCR III p. 115 (AD 1308); see also Bardsley p. 644 (under *Ribble*).

OG *Ribald*, *Ripald* F 1258. F has placed this name under *Ricbald* (< *rîchi*, *rîki*). The first member might also be *Rīd-* (found in OHG *rîtan* 'reiten'); cf. Bruckner p. 296. For the second member see under *Albod(o)*. Bardsley's explanation (p. 644) of *Ribald* as a "curtailment of *Rimbault*" is hardly correct.
Riccold, see **Ricwald*.
Ric(h)ard: *Richardo* (dat.) abbati KCD 771 (AD 1044); *Ricardus* de Curci[2] (Oxf.), *Ricardus* (Som. etc.), *Ricardus*

[1] The pl. n. *Resteslea* BCS 377 (AD 824) is assumed by Middendorff (p. 106) to contain *rest*, *ræst* 'Ruhestätte, Lager, Ruhe'. But the first member might be a p. n., which is perhaps to be compared to *Rest-* in Welsh *Restyn* (Cornw.) Inq. Non. p. 344.
[2] A Norman.

(filius Erfasti, Yorks.), *Ricardus* (filius Gisleberti Comitis, Kent), *Ricardus* forestarius[1] (Warw., Staff.), *Ricardus* legatus (Glouc.), *Ricardus* (homo Rogerii de Busli, Nott.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 403, 477 f., II pp. 205 f., 377 f.; *Ricard(us)* LVD pp. 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 31, 32, 35, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 70, 78, 80 etc.; *Ricardo* (abl.) Flandre RM I p. 449; *Ricard* le Franceis CR I p. 209 (AD 1214); *Richard* de Alemannia CPR I p. 116 (AD 1284); *Ricardus* de Alman FY p. 40 (AD 1347); *Ricardus* Braband (Cornw.) FA I p. 227 (AD 1428); further instances of this extremely common name are superfluous.

OG *Ricard*, *Richard*[2] etc. F 1263 f., OF *Ricart*, *Richart* Langlois p. 555 ff., also very common in Normandy[3], from where this name has in most cases been introduced into England[4]. Its popularity is certainly to some extent due to the circumstance that is was borne by the second son of William the Conqueror and several English kings. The most common ME form is *Ricard*, which is chiefly AN, whereas the OHG or Centr. F form *Richard* is more rarely met with. It is perhaps association with the English adjective '*rich*' that has caused the prevalence of the latter form in NE.

Ric(h)ere: *Richerius* (Som.), *Richerius* (Hants., Wilts., etc.), *Richerius* clericus, *Ricerus* (Suff.), Sanctus *Ricarius*, etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 478, II pp. 378, 379; *Richerus* de Aquila RB p. 203 (AD 1166); *Ricier* LVD p. 15; see further Bardsley p. 644.

OG *Richere*, *Richer*, *Riker* etc.[5] F 1264 f., OF *Rich(i)er*,

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[1] Also called *Ricard* Chineu and *Ricard* venator.

[2] For the members see *Albericus* and **Actard*.

[3] It was also used in the ducal family.

[4] *Richard* does not seem to have existed as a native name, though both members occur as OE name-elements.

[5] For the members see *Ric(h)ard* and *Aeðelhere*.

Ricier Langlois p. 558 f. No instances earlier than DB are on record.

Richilda Linc. Obit. p. 155; *Richilda* (uxor Fulconis) ibid. p. 159; *Richelda* uxor MRS p. 93; *Richenda* (*n*=*u*) RCR II p. 202 (AD 1200); *Richeud* LVD p. 27; *Richoldæ* (gen.) matris Huberti de la Vale Prior. Hexh. II p. 114; *Richonde* (*n*=*u*) LVD p. 82; *Rickildis* LVD p. 8.

OG *Richild*, *Richeldis*, *Richoldis* (Rom.) etc. F 1265 f. The first member as in preceding name; for the second member and its various forms see *Iseldis*. This name does not exist in OE.

***Ricwald**, *Ricowald* LVD p. 16; *Riccold* ibid. p. 17.

OG *Ricoald*, *Ricold*, *Richold*[1] etc. F 1270. In *Ricowald*, *w* is inserted to avoid *hiatus*. Of the same origin is perhaps *Riuoldus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 379[2]. Another form of the same OG etymon is probably *Rigandi* (gen.) Rot. Orig. I p. 273 = **Rigaud* < *Rigald* (Rom.) F 1270, OF *Rigaut* Langlois p. 560[3].

***Ricward**, *Ricuardus* (Norf., Suff.), *Ricoardus* (Suss., Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 379.

OG *Ricward* F 1270, OF *Ricoart* Langlois p. 560. For the members see *Ric(h)ard* and *Beluard*. No earlier instances occur in OE.

***Rigaud**, see **Ricwald*.

Riginald, see *Rainald*.

Riniald, see *Rainald*.

Rin(n)ard, see *Rainard*.

Rinulf, see under *Rainard*.

Riuoldus, see **Ricwald*.

Roberga (relicta Henrici) FA I p. 99 (AD 1302—3); *Robergia* (wife of Roger de Hele) Fines II p. 64.

The OG etymon is *Hrotberga*, *Rod(e)berga*, *Rotberga*, etc. F 892. Cf. *Ro(d)bert* and *Alberia*.

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[1] Cf. *Ri(c)hard* and *Ansoldus*.

[2] See Hildebrand, DB p. 349 and *Ribald* above.

[3] Cf. Kalbow p. 47.

Rocelin, see *Rozelin*.

Ro(d)bert, etc.: *Robert*, *Robetus*, *Roidibert* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 127; *Rotberht* mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 107; *Rodber(h)t*, *Rodbart* mon. (Aethelred II., Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 123, 142, 191, 222; *Robertus* (Londomiæ episcopus)[1] KCD 782, 784, 791, 813, 1338 (AD 1044—62); *Roberd* Stallere, *Rodberd* Stellere ibid. 828, 859 (AD 1066); *Rodbertus* (regis consanguineus) ibid. 813 (AD 1062); *Rodbriht* presbyter ibid. 792, 793, 796, 800 (AD 1050—54); *Rodberd* ðe Frencisce (= *Rodbearde* þan Freoncyscan)[2] ibid. 1351, AS Chr. 1051 D; *Rotbertus*, *Rotberd*, *Rodbeard* minister KCD 810, 811, 824 (AD 1060—66); *Robertus* arbalistarius (Norf.), *Robertus* dispensator (Glouc., Leic., etc.), *Robertus* (filius Giroldi, Hants.), *Robertus* (filius Rozelin, Ess.), etc. (common) Ellis, Intr. I p. 478 f., II pp. 207 ff., 379 ff., *Rodberde*[3] (dat.) AS Chr. 1068 D; *Rodbeard* (Bish. of Cheshire) ibid. 1085 E; *Rodbeard* a Mundbræg ('Moubray') ibid. 1087 E; *Rodbeard* (= *Rotbert* Bloet) ibid. 1093 E, 1123 E; *Rodbert*, *Rotbert* of Bælæsme (Earle of Shrewsbury) ibid. 1098 E, 1102 E, 1104 E, etc.; *Rotbert* (Abbot of St. Edmund's) ibid. 1107 E; *Robert(us)*, *Rodbert(us)*, *Rotbertus* LVD pp. 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 32, 35, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, etc.; *Robertus* Flandrensis Lib. Hyde p. 300; *Robertus* de Gaunt, mercer FY p. 44 (AD 1350); for further instances of this extremely common name see FNC Index.

OG *Hrodebert*[4], *Rodbert*, *Rotbert*, *Robert* (very common)

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[1] = *Rodbeardus* episcopus ibid. 792, 793 (AD 1050); he was a Norman monk who had been Prior of St. Ouen's at Rouen and afterwards Abbot of the house of Jumièges. Cf. FNC II p. 70. He is mentoined in AS Chr. 1048 E, 1050 A, 1051 D, 1052 C as *Rodbeard*, *Rotbeard*, *Rotberd*, *Hrodberd* and *Rodbyrd*.

[2] Bish. of London, see above.

[3] Earl of Northumbria, "seemingly one of the adventurers from Flanders" FNC IV p. 235.

[4] The first member belongs to Goth. *hroþeigs* 'siegreich', ON *hróðr*, and is also found in OE p. ns. On the loss of the dental

F 892 ff., OF *Robert* Langlois p. 563 f. The present forms were absent from the native personal nomenclature, although both members occur as OE name-elements. The earliest instances appear on the coins of St. Eadmund-Aethelred II. Through the great Norman and Flemish immigration into England *Robert* became one of the most popular names in the Middle Ages. Many dim. forms of it occur (e. g. *Robin(el)*, *Robinet*, *Robelot*, *Robelin*), most of which were probably introduced from Normandy and France where they are also on record. A hybrid form of **Robel-* (< *Robel-in*, *Robel-ot*) + the common name-suffix *-hard* is found in *Robelard* RH II p. 204, *Robil(l)ard* Rot. Fin. p. 532, CCR II p. 119, Rot. Orig. I p. 182, etc. Cf. further the fem. form *Roberta* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 459 (AD 1267).

Roderius (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 382.

OG *Hrodhari*, *Rodher(e)*, *Rothar*, etc.[1] F 904. No OE equivalent on record. Here may also belong *Rotier* Inq. Non. p. 397, representing an OF development of the same OG etymon.

Rodger, Roger, Rogger: *Rogerius* Comes[2] (Suss., Surr., etc.), *Rogerus* Mareschalcus (Ess.), *Rogerius* de Rames (Midd.), *Rogerius* (frater Willielmi Comitis, Glouc.), *Rogerius* Vicecomes (Glouc.), *Rogerus* (homo Drogonis, Yorks.), *Rogerus* (homo Gisleberti de Gand, Linc.), *Rogerus* Pictaviensis (Ess., Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 479 ff., II p. 382 ff.; *Rogerius*, *Roger(us)* LVD pp. 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 31, 32, 34, 39, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 67, 69 etc.; *Rodgerus* ibid. p. 55; *Rodgerus* Bigodus ibid.; *Rogere* eorl[3] AS Chr. 1087 E; *Roger* of Searisbyrig[4] ibid. 1123 E;

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see Franck, Afr. Gr. § 126, 4, Kalbow p. 136. For *t* (< *d* < *þ*) cf. Kalbow ibid. For the second member see *Adalbert*. The form *-beard* is probably a reverted spelling after OE *ea* had become *e*.

[1] For the members see *Ro(d)bert* and *Aeðelhere*.

[2] = *Roger* of Montgomery.

[3] = *Roger* Bigod (see above), FNC III p. 466.

[4] Cf. FNC V p. 203.

Roger (nephew of Roger of Salisbury)[1] ibid. 1137 E, *Roger*, *Rocger* eorl[2] ibid. 1075 E, 1076 E; *Roger* (Earl of Warwic) FNC IV p. 192; *Roger* (Archbish. of York) ibid. V p. 315; *Rog'* le Flemeng Rot. Fin. p. 430 (AD 1208); *Rogerus* le Fraunceys Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 220 (AD 1255; *Rogger* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 25.

OG *Hrodger*, *Rodger*, *Rotger*, *Rog(g)er*, etc.[3] F 898 f. The moneyer's name *Hrodear* (Aethelstan, Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 112, 123, 142, probably stands for *Hrodgar*. It seems most likely that this is also continental, since, with the exception of *Hroðgar* in Beowulf, which is the name of a Danish king, no other instances are found till DB. It is further to be noticed that this name appears on coins from a time when a considerable number of continental moneyers were working in England. The appearance of *Roger* in ME is chiefly due to NF influence. The ON equivalent, which may have contributed to the popularity of this name among the Normans, is *Hróðgeirr*, Lind 583 f.

Rodland, see *Rol(l)and*.

Roghard mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

Probably from OG *Ruochart*[4], F 881, OF *Rochart* Langlois p. 565. If this derivation be correct, *g* in the above form will stand for *c*; cf. **Actard*.

Rogo (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; the same person appears as *Rogus* ibid.; *Rogo* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 254 (AD 1234); *Rogoni* (dat.) CR II p. 18 (AD 1225); *Rogonis* (gen.) RH I p. 94; *Rogone* (in servicio domini Regis in Wasconia) CR II p. 79 (AD 1225).

Cf. OF *Rogon* (Langlois p. 569) < OG *Roggo* (Mod. G

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[1] See FNC V p. 287.

[2] Earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz Osbern.

[3] For the members see *Ro(d)bert* and *Amelger*.

[4] The first member seems to be **rôka* (OHG *ruoh* 'Bedacht, Sorgfalt'). Cf. Bruckner p. 298 and F 878. For the second member see **Actard*.

Rogge, F 880) a short form of *Rogger* or some similar name. Cf. also Stark p. 121.

Rohais, Roheis, see *Rothais*.

Rohard(us), see **Rothard*.

Ro(h)esia, see *Rothais*.

Rol(l)and: *Rolland* (Northampt.), *Rollandus* (Suss., Cornw., etc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; *Roland* LVD p. 18 (12th or 13th c.); *Rol(l)andus* ibid. pp. 83, 99, 111, 123, 129, 130, 131 (13th—15th c.); *Rolandus* Decanus CMR II p. 271 (AD 1133—60); *Rolland* de Dinant Rot. Oblat. p. 149 (AD 1201); *Rodlandus* Malherbe RC p. 7 (AD 1199); *Rotland* KC p. 6; *Roteland*, *Rotholand* RH I pp. 484, 487; *Rolland* (= *Rotholand*) CR II p. 151, RH II p. 29; *Rodland'* (dat., socio Walland' Teutonici) CR I p. 233 (AD 1215); *Rodland*, *Rotlandus* LVD pp. 104, 108; *Rolent* de Anvers RB p. 69 (AD 1186—87); cf. *Roelandū* (acc.) de Anvers Rot. Fin. p. 534 (AD 1214) = *Rotelandus* Danvers Abbr. Plac. p. 75; *Roelent* (de Anvers) ibid. p. 73; *Rowlande* (surname) LVD pp. 123, 125, etc.

OG *Hrodland*, *Rodland*, *Rol(l)and*, etc.[1] F 909, OF *Rol(l)ant*, *Rolent*, *Roulant*, etc. Langlois p. 570 f. A dim. form of this name is *Rolandino* (dat., Rector of Wissenden) Abb. Lind. p. 121. Cf. further the Italian forms *Orlando* and *Orlandinus* (merchants of Lucca) CPR I p. 315 (AD 1289), RB p. 982 (AD 1279—80)[2].

Roricus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384.

OG *Roric(us)*, *Rorich*, etc. F 1281. It seems most likely that these forms belong to OG *Hrodric*, *Rodric*. Cf. the form *Hroric* in F ibid.

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[1] For the members see *Ro(d)bert* and *Amerland*.

[2] The forms *Ruelend*, *Ruelent* (male) (e. g. Rot. Canc. p. 266, Biogr. Misc. p. 36, RB p. 309, etc.) are perhaps to be explained with Kalbow p. 151. When occurring as a surname, *Roelent* may be an original pl. n. Cf. *Roelent* and *Rodelent* (= *Rhuddlan*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 382.

Rosamunda, *Rosemunda*, RH II p. 839, Rot. Canc. p. 18, Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 560, FA I p. 198, etc.

Ros(e)munda, F 1282. The origin of the first member is obscure. Of the etymologies suggested it may suffice to mention OHG *hros* 'Ross', ON *rausa* 'laut sprechen', ON *rausn* 'Ruhm' and Latin *rosa* 'rose'. For the second member see *Claremunda*.

Roscelin, see *Roselin*.

Rosselin, see *Rozelin*.

Rostand, see *Rustand*.

Rotbert, see *Ro(d)bert*.

Roteland, see *Rol(l)and*.

Rothais (uxor Ricardi filii Gisleberti, Hertf., Hunt.) Ellis. Intr. I p. 481; *Roheis* (wife of Walter Rastell) Abbr. Plac. p. 51. Miss Yonge (p. 204) mentions *Rohais* (wife of Gilbert de Gaunt).

OG *Hrodohaidis*, *Rothaid*, *Ruodheid* etc. F 903. For the members see *Ro(d)bert* and *Adelais(a)*. Here also belongs the ME name *Ro(h)esia*, exhibiting a development of the second member analogous to that of *Alesia* < *Adelaisa*.

***Rothard**, *Rothardo* (dat.) CCR III p. 420 (AD 1320); *Rohard(us)* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 384; *Rohard* Rot. Canc. p. 108.

OG *Hrodhard*, *Rodhard*, *Rotard*, etc. (F 903 f.) > OF *Rohart*, *Roart* (Langlois p. 569). For the loss of the dental cf. Mackel p. 168. Here also belong *Ruardi* (gen.) CMR III p. 244, *Ruardus* Test. Nev. p. 180, *Ruard* (surname) CR I p. 444, etc. *u* for *o* is AN; cf. Stimming p. 190.

Roðin mæsse preost BCS 1010 (AD 958).

Searle derives this name from OE *Hroðwine*. I prefer to explain it as an Anglicized form of a continental name. Cf. *Hrodin*, *Rodin* etc. (F 887 f.) < *Hrod-*, see *Ro(d)bert*. The same charter contains other continental p. ns.

Rotier, see *Roderius*.

Rotland, see *Rol(l)and*.

Rotroc (Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385.

Cf. OG *Hrodroh*, *Rodroh*, *Ruodoroh* etc. F 908. For the members see *Ro(d)bert* and *Roghard*.

Rozelin (Hertf., Ess., etc.), *Rozel'* (Yorks.), *Rozelinus* (Suss., Northampt.), *Rozelinus* (homo Comitis Hugonis), Ellis, Intr. I p. 479, II pp. 381, 385; *Roscelin(us)* LVD pp. 61, 69; *Roscelyn* Rot. Obl. p. 111 (AD 1200); *Roscelinus* monachus RCR II p. 255; *Rotscelino* (dat.) MRS p. 155; *Roscelin*, *Rocelyn* (surnames) Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 183, CRC p. 103, RH I p. 537, etc.; *Rocelino* (dat.) fil. Clarenbaldi R I p. 9 (AD 1155); *Rosselini* (gen.) RM I p. 126; see further Bardsley p. 126.

OG *Ruozelin*, *Roscelinus* F 890, OF *Rocelin*, *Roscelin* Langlois p. 565. Cf. *Roscelinus* = *Rodulfus*, Stark pp. 61, 94 and *Rozo* below. On the various spellings for *z*, see *Azelin*.

Rozo (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 207.

OG *Rozo*, *Rozzo* etc. (F 890), hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Hrod-*. Cf. Stark p. 78.

Ruard, see **Rothard*.

Rumbald: *Rumbaldus* (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385; *Rumbaldus* de Brabant FY p. 104 (AD 1400); Hugo *Rumbald*, plummer ibid. p. 133 (AD 1405); Tericus *Rumbald* CCR I p. 273; cf. also the pl. n. *Rumboldes wyke* FA V p. 164 (AD 1428).

OG *Rumbald*, *Rumbold*, etc. F 883. F ibid. and Bruckner p. 300 assume the first member to be OHG *hróm* 'Ruhm'. It may be questioned, however, whether the almost entire absence of *h*, the frequent occurrence of the form *Rum-* and lastly the Mod. G form *Raumer* do not render it likely that *Rūm-* < **rūma-* 'geräumig' (cf. *wîd* 'weit' in p. ns) is also to be taken into account[1]. Cf. also the pl. n. (on) *Rumanhelle* BCS 1033 (AD 958), which perhaps contains a native short form *Ruma*.

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[1] For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

***Rumwold**: *Rumwoldes* mor BCS 541 (AD 875); *Rumoldus* presbyter (Wilts.), *Rumoldus* (Hertf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 385.

Cf. OG *Rumald, Rumold* F 885, Flemish *Rumold* Oorkondenboek I 81. For the members see *Rumbald* and *Ansoldus*.

Rustand: Magister *Rustandus* Ann. Dunst. p. 199 (AD 1255); *Rustan'* RC p. 194 (AD 1213); *Rustand* Durandi CCR II p. 10 (AD 1258); *Rostandus* (of Bordeaux) CPR I p. 436 (AD 1291).

OF *Rustant, Rostan* (Langlois p. 579) < OG *Hruodstein, Rodstein, Rostein* etc. F 914. For the first member see *R(o)dbert*; the second member is OHG *stein* 'Stein'. For the OF development see Mackel p. 115, Kalbow pp. 111, 125[1].

S.

Saisselinus, see *Sasselinus*.

Salo (Warw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 386.

OG *Salo* (F 1290 f.), a short form of compounds with *Sal-* (OHG *salo* 'schwarz' or *sal*, OE *sele*[2] 'Saal')[3].

Sarauuard, *Saruurd* mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 138, 155.

OG *Saroward, Saraward, Saroard* (Pol. Irm.) F 1300.

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[1] The NE surname *Ruston* is of local origin; cf. Bardsley p. 660.

[2] Also used as a name-element.

[3] The ME surname *Selke* (Fines II p. 79, RH II p. 222) is probably < OG *Salico* F 1291 f. Cf. Mod. G *Selke*, Fris. *Selke* Winkler p. 333.

The first member is OHG *saro* (OE *searu*) 'Rüstung'[1]; for the second member see *Beluard*.

Sarpo (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 208.

This is probably a hypochoristic form of some such OHG name as *Saraperath*, *Sarapreth* F 1300. Formations of a similar kind are found in abundance in Stark p. 104 ff. The ME surname *Sarp* (e. g. RH II pp. 637, 647, Cal. Inq. I p. 51) is = *Scarp*, *Scharp* (e. g. RH II pp. 566, 607).

Sasselinus (Ess.), *Saisselinus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 482, 483.

A dim. form of the common OG name *Saxo*[2] (F 1288). Cf. Longnon p. 361 f.

Sasuualo (Suss., Berks., etc.), *Sasuualo* (homo Abbatis S. Petri, Linc.) *Sasuualo* (homo Henrici de Ferrieres, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 386.

Saxwalo (Rom.) F 1289. The first member is the same as in preceding name; the second member might be OHG *walah* (OE *wealh*) 'Fremder'.

Savaric: *Saverico* (dat.) de Malo Leoñ Rot. Obl. p. 72 (AD 1199), Rot. Fines p. 576 (AD 1216), *Savaric* (Bish. of Bath) RC p. 129 (AD 1204); *Savericus* de Cotes RCR I p. 378 (AD 1199; *Savaricus* de Bo(h)un Exc. Rot. Fin. I pp. 270, 451, CR I p. 248; *Savaric* (of Poitou) CRC p. 2; *Savaricum* (acc.) de Huc Ped. Fin. Ebor. p. 132 (AD 1208); *Sauaric* (a monk) Ped. Fin. II p. 54 (AD 1197); *Savericus* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 520 (AD 1270); *Savari* LVD p. 61 (13th c.), etc.

Sabaricus, *Savaricus* F 1286, OF *Savari*, Langlois p. 609 f. The first member is etymologically obscure; cf. the suggestions by Bruckner p. 54 and F ibid. For the second member see *Albericus*.

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[1] This element does not occur in native names. The name *Searu* BCS 604, 612 is certainly corrupt; it appears as *Sedru* ibid. 613.

[2] Belonging to the name of the *Saxons*; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142.

Scolland, see the following name.

[**Scotland**, **Scolland**: *Scollandus* (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 387; *Scolland* MRS pp. 27, 43; *Escolland* (Kent) RCR II p. 94 (AD 1199); *Scotland* (abbot of Augustine's) Hist. Aug. pp. 101, 132; *Scotlandi* (gen.) RC p. 164 (AD 1206); *Escotland* (surname) RCR I p. 189 (AD 1198); *Scollant* Cal. Doc. p. 255; *Escolland* (a messenger of Rannulf Flambard's to the Archb. of Canterbury) Sim. Dun. (Surtees Soc.) I p. 96.

This name does not occur in Germany but is found in Normandy, where it is a younger formation from the name of the *Scots* + *land*, see *Amerland*. *ll* is the result of a NF assimilation of *tl*. When *Scotland* occurs as a ME surname it is in most cases of local origin (= de *Scotland*).]

Sebode, see *Sigboda*.

Sebrand (homo Alex. de Pointon) CR I p. 241 (AD 1215).

Cf. Mod. G *Seebrandt*, which F 1322 explains from older *Sigibrand*, *Segebrand*. See *Sigebrand* below.

Selke, see *Salo*.

***Senebald**, *Senebaldi* (gen.) camerarii domini Pape CR I p. 445 (AD 1220—21); *Senebaut* (surname) RLP I p. 33 (AD 1203).

Sinebaldus, *Senebaldus* Bruckner p. 304, *Sinibald* (an Italian bishop)[1], *Sinopold* F 1337. The first member is the Germanic prefix *sin* 'immer' for which see Kluge, Et. W. (under *Singrün*); it is absent from native p. ns. For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

Serlo, see Björkman, Pers. p. 116.

Sibertus de Colonia, goldsmyth, FY p. 98 (AD 1396).

OG *Sigibert*, *Sibert*[2], etc. F 1320 f. Not to be distinguished from native *Sibert* < OE *Sigebeorht*.

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[1] Cf. *Sinebaldus* de Fiesco, subsequently Pope Innocent IV.

[2] The first member is OHG *sigi*, *sigu* (OE *sige*) 'Sieg'; for the second member see *Adalbert*.

Siemond, see *Sigemund*.

Sigboda, *Siboda*, *Sibeoda*, *Sibode*, *Syboda* mon. (Aethelred II., Cnut) Hildebrand pp. 163, 164, 237, 313, Grueber pp. 201, 247, 248; *Siboda* LVH, see Searle.

OG *Sigibodo*, *Sigebodo*, *Sibodo*, *Siboto*, etc. F 1322, *Segebodo* Carstens p. 32. For the member see *Sibertus* and *Anderboda*. Of different origin is the fem. name *Sibota* (*Isota*, *Agnes*, *Alicia* et *Sibota*) LVD p. 111, *Sibota* Pt Y p. 110, which might be a variant of the common ME name *Sibilla*.

Sigebrand mon. (Eadw. the Elder, Aethelstan) Grueber pp. 92, 118; *Sibrand*, *Sybrondus* CMR I p. 172, II p. 328 (AD 1216—31).

OG *Sigibrand*, *Sigebrand*, *Sibrand*[1], etc. F 1322, Carstens p. 32, Winkler p. 337. Cf. *Sebrand* above.

Sigeland mon. (Aethelstan) Grueber p. 102.

OG *Sigilant*, *Sicland* (Pol. Irm.), Mod. G *Siegland* F 1328. For the members see *Sibertus* and *Amerland*.

Sigemund, *Siemond* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 127 f.

OG *Sigemund*[2] F 1330. The form *Siemond* (with Rom. $o < u$) shows that this is a continental name. *Semond* (Keary ibid.) denotes the same moneyer and is an error for *Siemond*, not < **Sæmund*, as Searle suggests. The OE equivalent *Sigemund* is on record.

Sinerdus (burgensis de Bruges) CR I p. 567 (AD 1222).

OG *Sinard* F 1337. For the members see **Senebald* and **Actard*.

Sinolda (wife of Ricard Pucin, Cornw.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 70 (AD 1221).

Cf. Frisian *Sinalda* Winkler p. 343, which might be a fem. form of *Sinuald*[3] F 1338. The above name is perhaps a NF form of an unrecorded **Sinhild*; cf. *Iseldis*.

Stanard, see Björkman, Pers. p. 130, foot-note 2.

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[1] Cf. *Sibertus* and *Aeðelbrand*.

[2] Cf. *Sibertus* and *Dagemond*.

[3] Cf. **Senebald* and *Ansoldus*.

***Starcher**, see *Estarcher*.

***Starculf**, *Starcolfus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 487; *Starcolf* (surname) Rot. Orig. II p. 77 (Edw. III.).

OG *Starculf*, *Starcolf*, etc. F 1362 f. For the members see *Estarcher* and *Adelulfus*.

Sunegod mon. (Aethelstan II., Cnut) Grueber pp. 201, 278, Hildebrand pp. 94, 95, 121, 253, 254; Roberto (obl.) *Sunegod* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 174 (AD 1228).

Probably from a continental etymon **Sunigaut*, the first member of which is related to Goth. *sunja* 'Wahrheit'[1]. For the second member see *Mangod*. The moneyer's name might also be a reversed form of *Godsune* occurring in the reigns of Cnut—Edw. the Conf.

Suneman (Yorks., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 233; *Sunemannes* (weorðig) BCS 1121 (AD 963).

OG *Suneman*, *Suniman*[2] F 1371. OE compounds with *Sun(e)-* do not seem to have existed. *Sunegod* (above) is not native, as is to be seen from its second member, *Sunulf* is probably ON, see Björkman, Namenk. p. 81, *Sungeoue*[3] LVD p. 5 (12th c.), *Sungeoua* (wife of Gamelo) Sim. Durh. I p. 60, and *Sungiue* (*Askil*, *Sungiue*) LVD p. 5 are Anglicized forms of ON *Sunnifa*, *Sunefa*[4] Lind 978 f., *Sunner* dux BCS 1044 is a mistake for *Gunner* dux ibid. 1043. The only remaining compound with *Sun-* in England seems to be *Sunwinus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 233, of which no OG or ON equivalent is on record, and which perhaps is a hybrid formation.

Sungeoue, **Sungiua**, etc., see the preceding name.

Sunwinus, see *Suneman*.

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[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke p. 48.

[2] Cf. *Sunegod* and *Godesman*.

[3] ... *Archillus*, *Basing*, *Thorulf*, *Sungeoue*, *Thora* ...

[4] Occurring in (Ketel et) *Sunniua* LVD p. 58 and *Sunniue* ibid. p. 50. Cf. further *Sunneue* ibid. p. 32, (Ulfkil et) *Sungiua* ibid. p. 48, and (Swartebrandus,) *Sungeua* ibid. p. 59.

T.

Tancard (sheriff of Pembroke) CCR II p. 373 (AD 1290); *Tancard* de la Roche CPR I p. 23 (AD 1282); (Ricardum filium) *Tancardi* (Pembroke) Gir. Cambr. VI p. 85; Willelmus *Tankard* FY p. 5 (AD 1289); Robertus *Tankard*, girdeler, ibid. p. 118 (AD 1412); *Tankard*, *Tanc(h)ard*, *Tankerd* (surnames) RCR I p. 285, RH II p. 122, Rot. Orig. I p. 247, Duc. Lanc. pp. 111, 153, etc.

OG *Thancard* (Mod. G *Danckert*), Fris. *Danchart*, *Dankert* F 1403, Winkler p. 58. The first member is OHG *dank*, OS *thank* (OE *þanc*) 'Dank, Gedanke'[1]. For the second member see **Actard*.

***Tanchelinus**, *Tanchelini* (gen.) MRS p. 137.

Probably a Rom. dim. form of OG *Thanco*, *Tanco*, *Danco*, etc. F 1402 f.; see the preceding name. Cf., however, Celtic *Tanconus*, *Tancinus*, etc. Stokes p. 128.

Tancrad, **Tancred**, **Thancred**: *Thancredus* BCS 1297 (AD 973); *Tancradus* monachus KCD 754 (AD 1020—38); *þanred* munuc ibid. 758 (AD 1038); (Normannus filius) *Tanredi*, *Tanre*, *Tanri*, *Tauredi* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 189; *Tancredus* Ann. Dunst. p. 25 (AD 1190); *Thancredi* (gen.) RM I p. 460; *Tancredus* (filius Bernardi CMR I p. 370; *Tancredi*, *Tancreti* (gen.) ibid. I p. 86, II p. 229 (AD 1254—67); *Tangredi* (= *Tancredi*) RB p. 208 (AD 1166); (Willelmus filius) *Tancræ* (Berks.) ibid. p. 307 (AD 1166); Willelmus *Tancred* Cust. p. 74 (Edw. I.).

OG *Thancrad*, *Tancrad*, *Tancred* (Norman), etc. F 1404 f.,

[1] The predominant spelling *T* in this element is due to NF influence. *Thanc-* is missing from native p. ns and, in OE times, occurs only in the continental name *Tancrad*. The Celtic name *Tangisilus*, *Thangil* (regis optimas) BCS 4, 5 (AD 605) is probably identical with Old Cornish *Tanc-uuestel* < **tanco-* 'Friede' and **geis(t)lo-s* (OE *gīsel*) 'Geisel'.

OF *Tangré*[1] Langlois p. 630. For the first member see *Tancard*. The second member *-rad* (for which see *Adradus*) may have been Anglicized into *-red*, but *e* is rather due to the NF development of OG *ā*[2].

Tascelinus, see *Tezelinus*.

Tasin CR I p. 202 (AD 1215).

Probably a Rom. dim. form of OG *Tas(s)o*[3] F 405. Cf. also *Tas(s)ilo* (see Schatz, Altbair. Gr. § 23) F ibid. and OF *Tassinel* Langlois p. 631.

Te(d)bald, see *Theodbald*.

***Tedred**, see *Theodred*.

***Tedwarettus**, *Tedwaretto* (dat.) de Botein CR I p. 460 (AD 1221).

Seemingly an Italian dim. form of *Thedware* below.

Tedwine, see *Theodwine*.

Teherus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 393.

This name is < OG *Theothere*[4], etc. (F 1433 f.) with NF loss of the dental. Of the same origin is probably *Terus* (< **Teerus*) Ellis, Intr. II p. 238[5].

Terbertus (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 394, is an error for *Tetbertus*, see Hildebrand DB p. 324, foot-note 1. The latter name occurs in F 1389 (from Rom. sources). For the members see *Tetbaldus* and *Adalbert*.

Terri(c), see *Theodric*.

Tetbaldus, (Wilts., Dev.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492; *Tetbaldus* (Suss.), *Tetbaldus* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Linc.), *Tetbaldus* presbyter (Suss.), *Tetbaudus* (Bedf.) ibid. II p. 394.

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[1] For this form see Kalbow p. 142.

[2] The pl. n. *Tankersley* contains, according to Moorman (p. 186 f.), a p. n. *Thanchere*, *Thancræd* or *Thanchard*. The two latter alternatives are most plausible, since the first-mentioned p. n. is not on record in England, as far as my knowledge goes.

[3] Cf. Bruckner p. 48, Kluge, IF IV p. 347.

[4] For the members see *Theodbald* and *Aeðelhere*.

[5] The form *Teorleda*, LVD p. 49 (12th or 13th c.) would seem to be ON, to judge by the second member.

Tetbald, Tetbold, Tetbaud, etc. are placed by F (1388 f.) under **taita-* (OHG *zeiz*, OE *tāt*, also used as a name-element see Müller p. 97, ON *teitr*). But most of the compounds with *Tet-* given by F are taken from Rom. sources and are to be derived from *Theod-* < **þeuda-* 'Volk'[1]. Hence the above forms are identical with *Theodbald* below.

***Tetbertus**, see *Terbertus*.

Tetildis (Suff.) Ped. Fin. IV p. 29 (AD 1198).

Tethildis (several instances from Rom. sources) F 1389, < OG *Theothild, Teuthildis*[2], etc. (F 1436), of which no OE equivalent is on record.

Tezelinus coquus (Surr., Suss., Hants., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492, II p. 394; *Tascelinus* presbyter (Ess.) ibid. II p. 393.

OG *Tetzelin, Tccelin, Tescelinus* F 388, 1388. These names might be dim. forms of *Taz(z)o* (F 388), a hypochoristic form of compounds with OHG *tât* (OS *dâd*, OE *dæd, dēd*) 'Tat'. *Tascelinus* is then a non-mutated form of the same etymon **Tazilin*; cf. *Tazzilo, Tacilo* F 388. *Tezelin* might also be a dim. form belonging to the name-stems **Taita-* or *Theuda-*. On the spelling *sc* for *z* see *Azelin*.

Thanggeoue LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

This is probably a hybrid formation. No OG equivalent is recorded. The first member does not occur in native names (see *Tancard*), whereas the second member, comperatively rare in OG p. ns, is very common in England[3]. For the first *g* see *Tangré* under *Tancrad*.

Thedberh LVD p. 52; *Theberga* vidua CMR II p. 41.

OG *Theutberga, Theodberga*, etc. F 1420 f. Cf. *Theod-*

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[1] Initial *t* for original *þ* and *e* for *eu, eo* are OF; cf. Kalbow p. 135, Mackel p. 128. In DB and later records, however, it cannot be ascertained whether *e* is due to the ME rendering of *e* for *ēo*. For the second *t* (< *d*), see Kalbow p. 134.

[2] For the members see *Tetbaldus* and **Ainild*.

[3] On pages 5 and 6 in LVD the following names in *-gifu* occur: *Aeieoue, Aelfgeofu, Aldgeofu, Brihtgeoue, Earngeoue, Godieoue, Leofgeoue, Merioue, Sægeofu, Sungeoue* and *Wyngeoue*.

bald and *Alberia*. On the loss of the dental see Kalbow p. 82.

Thedisius, see **Theodgis*.

Thedware (Ricardus *Thedware*) CMR I p. 328.

OG *Teodoar*, *Theotuuar*, *Deotwar*, etc. (male and fem.) F 1451. For the members see *Theodbald* and F 1531. Cf. **Tedwarettus* above.

Theodbald: *Tebaldus* (Suff.), *Tedbaldus* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.). *Tedbaldus* (homo Judithæ comitissæ, Bedf.). *Teodbald* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 393. *Teobalde*[1] (dat.) AS Chr. 1114 H; *Teodbald*[2] (Archb., Abbot of Bec) ibid. 1140 E; *Tædbalde* (dat.) de Blais[3] ibid. 1116 E; *Tebaldus*, *Theobaldus*, *Thedbaldus*, *Teodbald* LVD pp. 19, 53, 63, 90, 104, 144 (Obit.); *Theobald(us)* de Verdun Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 548 (AD 1271), RH II p. 837; *Theoƀ* de Coloñ CR I p. 27 (AD 1205); *Theobaldo* (dat.) Blundo CR I p. 167 (AD 1214); *Theoƀ* le Franceis ibid. II p. 97 (AD 1226); *Teobald* de Valoines Rot. Canc. p. 323; *Teobaldus* de Bray FA I p. 153 (AD 1316); *Theobaldus* de Nevill (Leic.) ibid. V p. 185 (AD 1316); *Thebaud*, *Tebaut* (surnames) RH II p. 495, Plac. p. 811, FA V p. 52; *Tebbolt* (surname, Cant.) RH II p. 464; Willelmus *Tebott*, tapiter, FY p. 109 (AD 1404); *Tibaldus* Walteri RB p. 141 (AD 1201—12) = *Teobaldus* Walteri ibid. p. 159 (AD 1201—12); *Tybaud* de Valeines (cf. *Teobald* de Valoines above) ibid. p. 588 (AD 1211—12); further instances in Bardsley pp. 740, 744, 749.

OG *Theudobald*, *Teutbald*, *Theobald* etc. (very common) F 1417 ff. The first member is OS *thiod(a)*, OHG *diot(a)*, *diet* (OE *þeod*) 'Volk'[4]. This name-element, which is one of the most common in OG p. ns, appears in some com-

[1] Bish. of Worc., formerly a canon of Bayeux; cf. *Teobaldus* Baiocensis canonicus LVD p. 147 (Obit.).

[2] = *Theo(d)baldus* LVD pp. 142, 150 (Obit.).

[3] = *Theobald* IV. Count of Blois.

[4] Cf. also Wrede, Wand. p. 62.

pounds in OE[1], but, with very few exceptions[2], only from the 10th cent. and mostly in moneyer's names from Eadred—Cnut which probably are continental. Binz is therefore certainly right in his suggestion (p. 200) that *Theod-* is rarely found in native p. ns. The various forms above are in most cases explained by NF or Latin influence. The initial *th* might be due to the influence of OE *þeod*, but is rather a learned (Latin) spelling. On *t*, see *Tetbald*. In the same way, the diphthong *eo* is probably also in most cases to be considered as Latin; when *e* occurs, it is OF (see *Tetbald*), although it might also be the result of the ME monophthongization of *eo*. The forms *Tibaldus*, *Tybaud* are < OF *Tibaut*, *Thiebaut*, *Tybaut* (Langlois p. 635 f.) < OG *Thiotbald*, cf. Mackel p. 128. With these forms OE *Tidbald* (e. g. BCS 82, 184, 379, etc.) might easily have been confused. For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

***Theodgis**, *Thedisius* de Camilla (Dean of Wolverhampton) CPR I p. 226 (AD 1286).

OG *Theotgis*, *Deotgis*, *Teutgis* (Rom.) F 1431. For the members see *Theodbald* and *Ernegis*.

Theodred, *þeodred*, see the instances in Searle and Birch, Index p. 116 f. It is not possible to determine whether they are native or not, though it is worthy of notice that they are from the ninth and, most of them, from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of continental origin is perhaps, to judge by its form, the moneyer's name *Tedredo*[3] (?) (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130.

Theodric: *Theodricus*, *Tedricus* aurifaber[4] (Berks., Surr.,

[1] See Searle.

[2] Cf. e. g. *Theodbald*, son of Aeðelric of Bernicia, OET p. 134.

[3] OG *Theudrad*, *Theod(e)rad*, *Teudered* etc. F 1443 f. See *Theodbald* and *Tancrad*.

[4] Cf. FNC IV p. 41: "Doubtless one of those craftsmen from the Teutonic mainland whose presence in England had been encouraged by a constant tradition going back to the days of Eadgar".

Oxf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492; *Tedricus* Pointel (Ess.) ibid. p. 468; *Tedric* (Som., Surr.), *Tedricus* (Ess.), *Teodericus* (frater Galteri diaconi, Suff.) ibid. II pp. 238, 394; *Teodorici* (gen.) episcopi BCS 737 (Aethelstan); *Theodric(us)* LVD pp. 45, 68; *Theodericus* CMR I p. 143 (AD 1124—30); *Theodorico* (dat.) Teutonico CR I p. 199 (AD 1215); *Tedrich* (surname) RH I p. 15; *Theodoricus* de Wermewelle Fines II p. 92; Henricus *Tetherikson* van Durdraght, marchaunt, FY p. 124 (AD 1416); *Terricus* Alemannus[1] LVD p. 17; *Terricus* Hareng RB p. 326 (AD 1166); *Terrico* (dat.) clerico comitisse Flandr̃ CR I p. 175 (AD 1214); *Terrico* (obl.) Teutonico ibid. pp. 154, 258 (AD 1216); *Terricus* Baril Test. Nev. p. 171; *Terric* Flandr̃ Rot. Canc. p. 155; *Terricus* le Vyleyn (merchant of Flanders) CPR II p. 200 (AD 1309); *Theori, Teori* LVD pp. 52, 54; *Therricus* prior CCR I p. 278 (AD 1244); *Terry* (Yorks.) RH I p. 111 (Edw. I.); *Terri, Terry* (surnames) ibid. I p. 197, II p. 617; *Tierric* MRS p. 21; *Tierrici* ibid. p. 149; Willelmus *Tirry*, cordwaner, FY p. 181 (AD 1461); *Todrici* (gen.) R II p. 170 (Ric. I); *Thudrich* (surname) CPR I p. 75 (AD 1283), etc.

OG *Theuderic, Theudoricus, Theodoricus, Thiedericus, Diedric*[2], etc. (extremely common) F 1445, OF *Thierri, Tier(r)i* Langlois p. 637 f. *Theodric* occurs in LV and in the Northumbr. genealogies (Sim. Durh. I p. 209, Surt. Soc.)[3] and further in Alfred's translation of Boëthius, in Waldere II v. 4, Deor's Klage v. 18, Widsiþ v. 115 (a king of the East Goths) and ibid. v. 24 (a king of the Franks). It is very

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[1] Cf. *Terrici* (gen.) le Alemaund RH I p. 42 (Edw. I.).

[2] For the members see *Theodbald* and *Albericus*. *Theodoric* is a learned form. For the NF forms *Terri, Terricus* (Latinized) and *Tierric* (< NF *Tierri*) see Kalbow pp. 26, 44. *Tedric(h)*, the probable etymon of *Terri*, is not < OHG *tat*, as Kalbow suggests. The spellings *Tod-* and *Thud-* are explained after Luhmann pp. 81, 147.

[3] Not in the genealogies in AS Chr. (see Earle-Plummer II p. 5).

well possible that these instances, too, should be ascribed to continental influence. Cf. Binz p. 200.

Theodulf mon. (Eadmund, Eadred) Grueber pp. 139, 140, 154; *Teolf* (Som.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 238.

OG *Theudulf, Theodulf*, etc. F 1453 f. For the members see *Theodbald* and *Adelulfus*.

Theodwine (Abbot of Ely 1076—79, a Norman monk of Jumièges)[1] FNC IV p. 482; *Theodguin* LVD p. 14; *Tedwinus* (?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130.

OG *Theoduin*, etc. F 1452 f. For the members see *Theodbald* and *Amalwin*. The spelling *-guin* for *-win* is AN. In OF p. ns, *w* after consonant appears as *gu* only when the first member is dissyllabic, as e. g. in *Amalguin*; see Kalbow p. 118.

[**Thurgunda** (quædam nobilis domina) CMR I p. 267; (Godwynus cum uxore) *Turgund* RM I p. 328.

This is certainly < ON *Þorgunna*[2] Lind 1174; cf. also O Dan. *Thurgunt* Nielsen p. 94. The second member was altered into agreement with the continental form *-gund(a)*.]

***Tiard,** *Tiardi* (gen.) R I p. 142 (AD 1156).

OF *Thiart* (Kalbow p. 111) < OG *Thiuthard*, etc. F 1432 f. Cf. *Tibaldus* and **Actard*.

Tibaldus, see *Theodbald*.

Tibert: Willelmus *Tibert*, Petrus *Tibert* LVD p. 107 (13th c.).

OF *Tibert, Tybert, Thibert* (Langlois p. 635) < OG *Thiotbert*[3] etc. F 1423. OE *Tidbeorht* is perhaps also to be taken under consideration.

***Tideman,** *Tidemanno* (abl.) de Lymberg (and sociis suis mercatoribus Alemanum) Rot. Orig. II pp. 167, 212 (Edw.

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[1] He is called *Thedwinus* abbas Eliensis CMR I p. 23.

[2] Cf. **Þorgun*, Björkman, Pers. p. 150, which he assumes to enter into the pl. n. *Thorganby*.

[3] For the members see *Theodbald* and *Adalbert*. It is possible that the moneyer's name *Þeodberht* (Eadred) Grueber p. 143 is also of continental origin. Cf. also the instance from LVH, given by Searle.

III.); Thomas *Tydeman*, shipman, FY p. 127 (AD 1418); Johannes *Tydeman*, brewer, ibid. p. 130 (AD 1420); *Tydman* van Camp ibid. p. 112 (AD 1409); cf. also Bardsley p. 750.

OG *Theotman*, *Dietman*, etc. F 1440, *Tidemannus* (AD 1304) Carstens p. 17 (Mod. G *Thidemann*, *Tiedemann*, etc.), Frisian *Ti(e)demann*, *Tydemann* Winkler pp. 390, 391[1]. The above forms are to be kept distinct from OE *Tidman*, the first member of which is OE *tīd* 'Zeit', occurring in a number of p. ns in England. Whether the same element exists in OG personal nomenclature is uncertain. Cf., however, the forms *Zita* and *Zitolfa* Bruckner p. 325. ON *Tiðemann* (Lind 1028) is German.

Tierric, see *Theodric*.

Tigerus (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 394.

Probably = OF *Tigier* (Langlois p. 641) < OG *Thiodger*[2] (F 1428 f.) or some similar form, in which case the OG diphthong *io* was rendered with *i* in OF; cf. Mackel p. 128. According to Kalbow (p. 111), *i* may also have arisen through the influence of the following palatal.

Tilbrandus comes BCS 521 (AD 868).

The second member points to OG or ON origin[3] but no equivalent form seems to be recorded in these dialects. The first member is Goth. *(ga)tils* 'passend' and not unfrequently found in OE p. ns. In OG it is rare and appears mostly in the HG form *Zil-*, in ON it is lacking altogether in p. ns. It is therefore possible that *Tilbrandus* is a hybrid formation.

Tirry, see *Theodric*.

Tiselinus (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 239.

This name is perhaps < OG *Thiezelin*, *Ticelin*, *Dizelin*[4], etc. F 1417, Stark p. 94, OF *Tiecelin*, see Kalbow p. 53.

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[1] For the members see *Theodbald* and *Godesman*. *Tid-* is due to the development of OG *eo* (> *io* > *ie*) > *ī*.

[2] For the members see *Theodbald* and *Amelger*.

[3] Cf. *Aeðelbrand* above.

[4] Dim. forms of compounds with **þeuda-*, see *Theodbald*.

On *s* for *z* see *Azelin*. It might also be a dim. form of *Tiso*, see the following name.

***Tiso**, *Tisonem* (acc.) RLP I p. 90 (AD 1209); Willelmi (gen.) *Tyso* (Worc.) FA V p. 311 (AD 1428).

Cf. OG *Tiso* (F 411), which Bruckner (p. 242) associates with Goth. *(filu)deisei* 'Klugheit, Arglist'. The form *Tison* (Gislebertus *Tison*) Ellis, Intr. I p. 493, might be a NF variant of *Tiso*, but in consideration of its surname function it is better explained by Hildebrand (DB p. 343) as an original appellative meaning 'Feuerbrand'.

Trasemundus (Wilts.), *Trasmundus* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 243; *Tresmundus* (of the church of Shenington) Ann. Theok. p. 121 (AD 1241); *Tresmund* Culling RC p. 169 (AD 1207); *Tresmund* Strode Rot. Canc. p. 201.

Thrasamund (King of the Vandals 496—523), *Trasamund*, *Trasemund*, *Trasimund*, *Trasmund*, etc. F 1463 f. The first member is generally assumed to be related to Goth. *þrasa* (*balþei*) 'Streitzucht', ON *þrasa* 'streiten'. The above side-form *Tres-* (cf. also the compounds *Tresbert*, *Tresmir*, *Tresericus*, *Tresuin* etc. in F) shows the same development as OF *tres* < *tras* (< Latin *trans*); cf. the Latin form *Transmundus*. For the second member see *Claremunda*[1].

Tresmund, see the preceding name.

[**Truhant** (surname, Norf.) RCR I p. 127 (AD 1194), *Truan* (surname, Suff.) FA V p. 90 (AD 1346), *Trouhunt* (surname, Suff.) ibid. p. 99 (AD 1401—2) is probably an original by- or nick-name, viz. *truant* 'an idler' (< OF *truand*), and not to be connected with OG *Truand*, *Truant*, etc. F 1465.]

Tybaud, see *Theodbald*.

[1] Bardsley's derivation (p. 742) of the ME surname *Tacyman*, *Tesymond*, *Tossemund* etc. < *Tras(e)mund* is not convincing.

U.

Ubba dux Fresciorum, *Ubba* dux Fresonum, Sim. Durh. [RS] 202, 204 is probably not a Frisian, but the Danish chieftain *Ubba*, mentioned in AS Chr. 870 F (see Björkman, Pers. p. 165). The distinction between Frisians and Danes, made by early writers, cannot always be taken too seriously, particularly on account of the fusion of the two nations that will have taken place more or less in the border districts.

Ubert, see *Hubert*.

Uctebrand (Derb., Rotel., Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 248, 398.

The second member does not occur in native names (see *Aeðelbrand*); a corresponding OG or ON form is, however, not recorded. It seems probable that it is a hybrid formation, the first member being the OE name-element *Uht-*, for which see Müller p. 92.

Ugo, see *Hugo*.

Ugolinus, see *Hugelin*.

Umfridus (filius Roberti, Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402; *Umfrid* de Boun (Dev.) RH I p. 97 (Edw. I.); *Umfrid* ibid. p. 336, II p. 700; *Unfrei* (surname) ibid. p. 708; *Umfrey* (surname) ibid. p. 476, etc.

OG *Unfrid*, *Unfred*, *Umfred*[1] F 1479. The above forms cannot well be kept distinct from *Hunfrid* (above). In OE the present name seems to occur only in the one instance *Unferð* (son of Ecglaf) in Beow.

Urlwin(e), see **Erlwin(e)*.

Urso (Wilts., Dors., Oxf., etc.), *Ursо* vicecomes (Worc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 402; *Ursone* (abl.) de Abetot CMR I pp. 237, 238, 242 (AD 1102—11), etc.

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[1] The first member is the intensive particle *un-*, perhaps occurring in OE *unhār*; cf. Bruckner p. 84. For the second member see *Gaufrid*.

Cf. *Urso* F 1484. It is possible that this name is, at least sometimes, Germanic. Cf. Bruckner (p. 60), who suggests that *Urs-* is related to Greek ἄρσην 'männlich, tapfer'. A Rom. dim. form is *Ursellum* (acc.) de Bosco RCR I p. 420 (AD 1199)[1].

Urveus, Urveius, see *Hurvey.*

W.

Waard, see *Wadard.*

Wace, see *Wazo.*

Wacelin, see *Wazelinus.*

Wachelin, see *Walchelin.*

***Waco,** see *Wazo.*

Wadard: *Wadardus* (Kent) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503; *Wadard* (Oxf., Warw.), Rainaldus *Wadard* (Oxf.), *Wadardus* (homo Episcopi Baiocensis[2], Linc.) ibid. II pp. 403, 404; Walchelin *Waard* MRS pp. 4, 6; Helewisa *Waard* Cart. Eynsh. I p. 413; Simon *Wahart* (Yorks.) RB p. 414 (AD 1166).

OG *Wadard* F 1492, OF *Vadart* Kalbow p. 117. The first member is related to OHG *watan* (OE *wadan*) 'ire, pergere' and is found is OE *Wada* in LV and in Widsiþ (v. 22), where it is the name of a prince of the Hælsingas, further in DB, where it is probably native, and in the well-known ME poem *Wade.* There are, however, no native compounds with this name-element in OE. The second member is *-hard*, (see **Actard*), not *-weard*, as Searle suggests.

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[1] *Ursus* (vicecomes, Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 261 is Latin.

[2] Mentioned in the Baieux tapestry; cf. FNC III p. 571.

Wadelo, Wadel, Wadels, Wadhel (Kent, Dev., Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 262.

OG *Wadila, Watilo, Wadil,* etc. (F 1491), dim. forms of *Wado* = OE *Wada,* see the preceding name. The above forms are probably NF.

Wahart, see *Wadard.*

Waifer, Wayfer: *Wayfer* RM I p. 277; Ricardus *Wayfer, Waifer* (Wilts.) ibid. II pp. 390, 393, Test. Nev. p. 151; Roberti (gen.) *Wayfer* (Wilts.) Inq. Non. p. 164; Willelmo (dat.) *Waifer* RB p. 768 (AD 1204—5); Ricardi (gen.) *Wayfere* (Wilts.) FA V p. 236 (AD 1428).

Cf. OG *Waifar, Waifer, Weifer*[1] etc. F 1495, OF *Gaifier* Langlois p. 245 f. The predominant surname-function of the above forms, however, renders it probable that they are in most cases to be derived from an original appellative *waferer* 'wafer-baker'. Cf. such ME surnames as le *Wafre,* le *Wayfre,* le *Wayferer* etc.

Wala, see *Walo.*

Walafraith, see **Walfrid.*

Wakelin, see *Walchelin.*

Walbertus (Staff.), *Walbertus* (homo episcopi Dunelmensis, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; *Walbertus* LVD p. 47 (12th or 13th c.); *Waubert* (Lond.) RH II p. 417; *Waubert* (surname) ibid. p. 390; Gervasius *Gaubert* CRC p. 9 (John)[2].

OG *Walbert*[3] (very common) F 1501 f., OF *Gaubert*

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[1] The first member is probably related to Goth. *waja-* in *waja-mērjan*; see Bruckner p. 101 and Kalbow p. 107. The second member is explained by Bruckner (p. 247) < **farja-* (related to OS *far,* OHG *fora, furi*). Cf. also F 496 and literature there quoted.

[2] The pl. n. *Walberton* does not, according to Roberts, Suss. Pl. ns, contain this p. n. but OE *Wealdburh,* which assumption he supports on the form *Walburgetone* in DB.

[3] The first member is *Wald-* belonging to OHG *waltan,* see *Ansoldus* above. Besides, OHG *walah* (OE *wealh*) 'Fremder' is also to be taken under consideration. Cf. also Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142, who explains the name-element *Wal(a)h-* from the

Langlois p. 262. There are no instances of this name in England till DB[1].

Walchelinus, Walkelinus, *Walcelin* (Episcopus Wintoniensis)[2] (Hants., Berks., etc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503, II p. 405, LVD pp. 72, 140, AS Chr. 1098 E; *Walchel'* (homo archiepiscopi Eboracencis, Linc.), *Walchelinus* (North., Linc., etc.), *Walchelinus* (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Nott.), *Walchelinus* miles (Yorks.), *Walchelinus* (nepos Episcopi de Winton, Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; *Walchelin'* LVD p. 12; *Walkelinus* ibid. p. 61; *Walkelinus* Decanus ibid. p. 81; *Walkling* ibid. p. 101; (Hugo filius) *Walchelini* ibid. p. 108; *Walkelin* = *Wachelin* ibid. pp. 61, 70[3]; *Walkelin'* de Feraĩ Rot. Obl. p. 75 (AD 1200); *Walkelinum* (acc.) le Blunt RM II p. 107; *Walclin* (surname) RH II p. 619; *Waukelyn* ibid. p. 631; *Wakelin* KC p. 107, Rot. Fin. p. 456 (AD 1207); *Galchelinus* RM II p. 395; *Gaugelinus* (= **Gaucelinus*) de Corcella (Baieux) RB p. 647 (AD 1133); further instances in Bardsley p. 792.

A NF dim. form of OG *Walho* or *Walico* (Mod. G *Walke*, Fris. *Walke*, *Walcko*, *Walko* F 1514, Winkler p. 423) < *Wal(ah)-*, se under *Walbertus*. The DB-spelling *ch*, as well as the frequent occurrence of *k* in later forms and present English *Walkling*, show that the original pronunciation of this name was *Walkelin*. The loss of *l* (in *Wakelin*) is AN; cf. Menger p. 87, and Zachrisson, AN Infl. p. 148. On *Gal-*, *Gau-*, see *Gaufrid*.

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name of the *Walchi*, Celtic *Volcae*. For other possible explanations of *Wal-* see F 1513, Bruckner p. 316, Schönfeld p. 250 and literature there quoted. The second member is the same as in *Adalbert*.

[1] The form *Walberti* (gen.) BCS 22 (AD 664) appears as *Wilberht* AS Chr. 656 E, which latter is no doubt correct.

[2] A Norman, said to have been a kinsman of the Conqueror.

[3] Cf. also *Wakelinus* .... cum ipso *Walcelino* Abbr. Plac. p. 18.

Walchere AS Chr. 1080 E[1] = *Walcherus* episcopus Dunelmensis LVD pp. 66, 143 = *Gualcherus* ibid. p. 140; *Walcherus* (Dors.), *Walicherus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 405, 406; *Galicerus* (Ess.) ibid. p. 321; *Waucher* RLP p. 95 (AD 1212).

OG *Walcher*, *Walicher*, *Walcar* (Rom.) etc. F 1517 f. For the members see the preceding name and *Aeðelhere*. An OE form *Wealhhere* is on record (e. g. BCS 405, 421, 442, AD 833, 838); it cannot be distinguished from the continental equivalent. The present English surname *Walker* is of different origin and derives from ME *walker* 'a fuller'[2]; cf. Will' *le Walker* Inq. Non. p. 141.

Waldin: *Waldinus* (Yorks.), *Waldinus* Brito[3] (Linc.) *Waldinus* ingeniator[4] (Linc.), *Waldinus* (homo Willielmi de Perci, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 503, II p. 405; *Waldin* LVD p. 51 (13th c.); *Waldin*, *Waudin* (surnames) RH II p. 77, Test. Nev. p. 45; *Gaudinus* (de Albo monasterio) Test. Nev. p. 154; *Gaudin'* de Orfeure (Yorks.) Abbr. Plac. p. 253; *Gaudin*, *Gaudyn* (surnames) RH II p. 176, CR II p. 78, etc.

Searle assumes the DB-forms above to be < OE *Wealdwine* (cf. *Walduinus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 262), but there is no doubt that, as a rule, these instances are < NF *Waldin* (see the Rom. instances in F 1500) and *Gaudin* (Langlois p. 262 f.), dim. forms of the name-stem *Wald-*, see *Walbertus*.

Walebrond (surname, Dors.) Inq. Non. p. 56.

Cf. *Walprand* (Bish. of Lucca 732—54), *Waldprand*[5] etc. F 1502. Cf. also *Valbrandr* Lind 1065. Or is the above form from OF *Walebron* (Langlois p. 672) with excrescent *d*? This might be a hybrid formation (*-brun*, *-bron* is often found in OF p. ns). But cf. *Walbrun* F 1502 and *Guala-*

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[1] "he sylf wæs on Hloðeringa geboren". Cf. also FNC IV p. 479.

[2] See also Weekley p. 45.

[3] Cf. FNC IV p. 215.

[4] See FNC ibid.

[5] For the members see *Walbertus* and *Aeðelbrand*.

brûnus Bruckner p. 316. Does the surname *Wabrand* (Wilts.) Test. Nev. p. 146 belong here?

Walecho LVD p. 78 (12th or 13th c.).

OG *Walaho, Walecho*, etc. (F 1514) < *Walah-*, see under *Walbertus*.

Waleman mon. (Edw. the Elder)=Grueber p. 93.

OG *Walaman, Walman*[1], etc. F. 1519. Not on record elsewhere in OE.

Waleran venator (Hants., Wilts.), *Waleramus* (Ess.), *Walerannus* (Dors.), *Waleranni, Walerami, Galerami* (gen.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 439, 503, II pp. 343, 405; *Walerannus, Walramus, Walerandus, Walran* (filius Roberti), *Waleran* LVD pp. 15, 65, 85, 91, 97, 104; *Walerannus* abbas Ann. Waverl. p. 245 (AD 1187); *Waleran* de Munceaus Rot. Fin. p. 310 (AD 1205); *Waleramo* (obl.) de Lenburg̃ (Lunebourg) CR I p. 125 (AD 1212); *Waleramo* (obl.) Teutonico ibid. p. 456 (AD 1221); *Walerando* (obl.) de Sancto Germano RM II p. 396; *Walerandus* Maufe Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 125 (AD 1225); *Walerandus* (fil. Normanni) ibid. II p. 220 (AD 1255); *Walrant* (surname) Abbr. Plac. p. 200; *Walraund* (surname) RM II p. 414; Gilbertus *Walronne*, merchaunt, FY p. 234 (AD 1509); *Walerenus* de Ivreio (= *Galeranus*) RB p. 640 (AD 1172); *Gwalerā* LVD p. 8; etc.

OG *Walahram, Walaram, Waleramus, Walerannus*[2] F 1518 f., OF *Galerant*. ON *Walrafan* (Björkman, Pers. p. 173) may easily have been confused with the continental forms.

Walericus S. (Ess.), (de) Sancto *Walarico*, (de) S. *Waleri* Ellis, Intr. I p. 503 = the Abbey of St. *Valery* in Picardy.

OG *Walerich* F 1520. Cf. Schätzer p. 53 f.

***Walfrid**: *Walifridus* (homo Aluredi de Lincole) Ellis, Intr. II p. 405; *Walafraith* LVD p. 58 (13th c.); *Walefrei* (Bedf.)

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[1] Cf. *Walbertus* and *Godesman*.

[2] The first member is probably OHG *wal* (OE *wæl*) 'die Erschlagenen auf dem Schlachtfelde'; see further *Walbertus*. For the second member see *Bertram*.

Fines I p. 88 (John); *Walfrei* (surname) RH II p. 560 (Edw. I.), etc.

OG *Walahfrid, Walafrid, Wal(e)frid, Walfred*[1] F 1503 f., 1516 f. OE **Wealhfrid* is not on record, but *Ualdfriđ* occurs in LV and *Waltferđ* is a moneyer's name (Aethelred II.) Grueber p. 217. For *th* in the AN form *-fraith* see Behrens p. 175 f. On the usual NF variant *Gaufrid* see above.

Walger (surname) RH II p. 647, Rot. Orig. II p. 170; *Gualgerus* episcopus LVD p. 44 (13th c.).

OG *Waldger, Walger*[2], etc. F 1504. Whether *Walgar* (minister) BCS 1344 (AD 930) is a native equivalent of the above forms or < OG *Walgar*, etc. (F 1505) cannot be determined.

***Walin**, *Walin'* Flandr' (Pembroke) MRS p. 136.

A dim. form of *Walo*, see this name. The form *Walenus* given by Searle from Ellis, Intr. II p. 405 as a nomen viri appears as (Petrus) *de Walenus*.

Walkelin, see *Walchelin*.

Walo (Suss.), *Walo* (homo Gozelini, Linc.), *Walo* (homo Hugonis, Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 406; *Walo* de Cupella RC p. 186 (AD 1212); *Galo* (citizen of Nantes) CCR I p. 125 (AD 1230); *Gualonem* (acc.) legatum in Anglia[3] Rob. Gross. Ep. p. 339 (AD 1245); *Gala* (fem.?) de Curcun (Cant.) RB p. 366 (AD 1166), etc.

OG *Walo* (F 1514 f., Stark p. 46, Bruckner p. 316), a hypochoristic form of compounds with *Wal-*, see *Walbertus*. It is possible that *Wala* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 405) is a native hypochoristic form of compounds with OE *Wealh-, Walh-*; on the loss of *h* see Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 218. The form *Wala* LVD p. 57 is certainly fem.[4] Cf. *Wala* F 1515.

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[1] For the members see *Walbertus* and *Gaufrid*.

[2] Cf. *Walbertus* and *Amelger*.

[3] See FNC V p. 720.

[4] .... *Githa, Aalis, Margaritha, Wina, Wala, Emalina* ...

Walter mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131; *Walter(e)* mon. (Edw. the Elder, Eadred) Grueber pp. 94, 143; *Walterius* (Hants.), *Walterius* balistarius (Glouc.), *Walterius* diaconus (Glouc.), *Walterius* (filius Other, Surr., Hants., etc.), *Walterus* Flandrensis[1] (Hertf., Buck., Bedf., etc.), *Walterus* fil. Ponz[2] (Berks.), *Walterus* (filius Rogerii, Hants.), *Walterus* (frater Seiheri, Bedf.), *Walterus* de S. Waleri, *Walterus* episcopus Hereford[3] (= *Walterus* episcopus KCD 809, 813, 824, 825, 833, AD 1060—66), *Walterus* (filius Engelberti, Kent), *Walterus* (filius Lamberti, Suss.), *Walter* (gener Gisleberti, Worc.), *Walterus* (homo Goisfridi Alselin, Nott.), *Walterus* monachus (Bedf.), *Walterus* (nepos Durandi, Heref.) etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 504, 505, II pp. 265, 406, 407; *Walter(i)us* LVD pp. 2, 4, 7, 8, 14, 16, 19, 23, 27, 31, 34, 35, 39, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 61, 70, 71, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, etc.; *Walterus* de Gant MRS p. 25 (AD 1205); *Walterus* le Franceys CR II p. 204; *Walter(us)* le Flemyng CCR I p. 478 (AD 1257), FY p. 12 (AD 1308); *Walterus* Fraunceis, sadeler, FY p. 67 (AD 1369); *Waltero* (dat.) Alemanno CR I p. 41 (AD 1205); *Waltero* (dat.) de Bruges ibid. p. 45 (AD 1205); *Walter* of Cantelupe (Bish. of Worc. 1237—1266) FNC V p. 725; *Walter* of Douai FNC V p. 800; *Walter* Giffard ibid. IV p. 39; *Walter* of Espec (founder of the Rievaux Abbey in 1131) ibid. V p. 232; *Walterus* de Bardes[4] (also called *Gauto* de Barde) RB p. CCCLV = *Gauterus* de Bardes, mercator (Edw. III.); *Waltear* bisceop[5] AS Chr. 1095 E; *Walterus* (de Constancia[6] factus est episcopus Lincolniæ) Chr. Petr. p. 4 (AD 1183); *Waltier* (surname, Dev.) FA I p. 466 (AD 1428); *Galterus* cocus (Ess.), *Galterus* diaconus (Ess., Suff.), *Galterus* de Ga-

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[1] See FNC III p. 312.
[2] Son of *Walter* Ponz, brother of Drogo.
[3] A Lotharingian, see FNC II p. 451 f.
[4] A Lombard.
[5] "Þæs Papan sande ... *Waltear* bisceop ... of Albin þære ceastre."
[6] = Coutances.

domo (Norf.), *Galterus* arbalistarius[1], *Gualterus* (Norf.), etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 421, II pp. 321, 332; *Gualter(i)us* LVD pp. 45, 51; *Gualter* de Gant ibid. p. 78. See further Bardsley p. 792.

OG *Walter* (very common) F 1507, OF *Gautier* Langlois p. 266 ff. The first member is *Wald-*, see *Walbertus*. According to Kalbow p. 134 the *t* of the Rom. forms need not necessarily be < OHG forms with *t* (< *d*) but the original *d* may have been unvoiced when it came to stand at the end of the syllable after the loss of the composition-vowel. For the second member see *Aeðelhere*. The OE equivalent is *W(e)ald(h)ere*[2], which under continental influence may easily have assumed the form *Walter(e)*. Thus, it is not possible to determine whether *Walterus* sacerdos (BCS 118, AD 706) with the variant *Uualdherus* is a native or continental name. The English form is rarely met with in the 10th c. and in the 11th c. begins the great importation, especially from Normandy, France, and Flanders. Binz (p. 219) has collected a number of instances of *Walter*, which in his opinion prove the spread of the legend of *Walther* and *Hildegund* in England, but which cannot as a rule serve as evidence in this respect, since they were more likely to have been brought into the country by foreign invaders or immigrants.

Waltier, see the preceding name.

Wandebertus LVD p. 54 (13th c.).

OG *Vandberth*, *Wandabert*, *Wandebertus*, *Wantpert* F 1526, Stark p. 89, Bruckner p. 318. The first member is probably to be connected with the verb *windan* 'winden'[3]. No OE compounds with this element exist. The p. n. *Uont* in LV has, as it seems, been wrongly associated with OG *Wanzo* by Müller (p. 43). The latter name is certainly not a short

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[1] Cf. *Walterus* arbalistarius above.

[2] Cf. also the well-known OE *Waldere* fragments.

[3] For the second member see *Adalbert*.

form of an original compound with **Want-*, since such a name-element does not exist, but is < *Wando* or, as Stark p. 88 suggests, < **Wanizo*. *Uont* (of non-Germanic origin?) is further to be kept distinct from the surname *Wanz*, *Wants*, *Wand* Ellis, Intr. I p. 506, II p. 408, which is < M Lat. *wantus* (cf. "tegumenta manuum quae Galli *wantos* vocant" in Bede) of Germanic origin[1]. The moneyer's name *Oanddert* (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 121 is probably a mistake for **Oandbert*. The spelling *O* for *W* proves it to be a WF-Rom. form.

Wandefred mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131.

OG *Wandefrid*, *Wantfrid* F 1526. For the members see *Wandebertus* and *Amelfridus*. Cf. also Bugge, Vesterl. Indfl. p. 276.

***Wandregisel**: S. *Wandregesili* (gen.), *Wandregisillus*[2] Ellis, Intr. I p. 506, II p. 408; *Wandregiš*, *Wandrigiš*, *Wandregisilum* (acc.), *Wandrille* de Curcell RCR I pp. 265, 308, 310, 343, 349, CR I p. 13 (AD 1204); *Wandregisilus* de Boytun' (Cornw.) Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 92 (AD 1222); *Wandregisili* (gen.) MRS p. 19; *Wandrig'* Test. Nev. p. 167.

OG *Wandrigisil*, *Wandregisil* (common) F 1530. The first member seems to be an extension of *Wand-* (see *Wandebertus*) almost exclusively found in WF; cf. F ibid., Longnon p. 371. For the second member cf. *Gislebert*.

Wantelmus LVD p. 55 (13th c.).

This might be a compound of *Wand* + *helm*, but, as there is no continental equivalent on record, it seems most pro-

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[1] The ME surname *Wante, le Wante*, explained by Bardsley (p. 792) as "the want, i. e. the mole", might be of the same origin. As regards the pl. ns *Wandesford*, *Wandesleia* and *Wandestre* (Test. Ebor. p. 256, RB pp. 167, 344), their first member is probably OE *wand* 'mole' (cf. Kärre, Nomina Agentis in OE p. 28) and not a p. n. **Wande* or **Wandefrith*, as Moorman (p. 108) suggests.

[2] The Abbey of *St. Vandrille*, in the diocese of Rouen, founded by *St. Wandregisilus* in 654.

bable that the form is misread or miswritten for *Wantelinus* < OG *Wantelin* (Rom.), *Wandelin*, *Wandalin*, etc. (F 1527), dim. forms of *Wando*[1], *Wandilo*, or belonging to the name-stem *Wandel-* (from the name of the *Vandals*).

***Warenbold**, *Wari(u)boldus*[2] (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 408; *Warmebolt* de Arleham, goldsmyth, FY p. 84 (AD 1385); cf. also *Wormeboldi* (gen.) Harlam, goldsmyth, ibid. p. 135 (AD 1423).

OG *Warinbold*, *Warembold* (Rom.), *Warenbald*, *Werinbold*[3], etc. F 1541. The OE equivalent *Uernbald* occurs in LV (see Müller p. 103). It cannot be determined with certainty whether the ME surname *Wernbald* (Cant.) RH II p. 434 (Edw. I.) is a continuation of this OE p. n.

Warenger (Dors.), *Warengerus* (Norf., Suff.), Rogerus *Wareng'* (Suff.), *Warēgerius*, *Waregius* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 408; *Warengerus*, *Warengaŕ* (Dors.) Fines II p. 94; *Garengerus* (Ess., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322.

OG *Weringer* and Rom. *Warengar*, *Guarenger* F 1543. For the members see **Warenbold* and *Berenger*.

Warimer, *Uuarmer* mon. (Edw. the Elder) Grueber pp. 84, 93.

These forms are hardly from OE **Wærmær*, as Searle suggests. *a* for *æ* might certainly very well be ascribed to the carelessness of the moneyer. But apart from the fact that Searle's form is not recorded elsewhere in OE the occurrence of *i* as the composition-vowel points to continental origin. The OG equivalent is *Werimer*, Rom. *Guarimar*, *Wairmar* F 1536. For the first member see F 1531, Bruckner p. 318. For the second member cf. *Ainmer*.

Warin, *Uuarin* mon. (Eadred) Grueber p. 152; *Uuerin* mon.

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[1] Often used as a short form of *Wandregisil*.

[2] As regards the omission of *n* see Burghardt p. 105, Luhmann p 54, Zachrisson, French Infl. p. 10 f.

[3] The first member belongs to the name of the *Varini* (*Wærnas*, *Wernas* in Widsiþ): cf. Bruckner p. 318, Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142. For the second member see *Albod(o)*.

(Eadwig) ibid. p. 162; *Warn* mon. (Eadmund) ibid. p. 138; *Warinus* arbalistarius (Wilts.) *Warinus* (Berks., Suss., Dev., etc.), *Warinus* (homo Rogeri comitis, Suss.), *Warinus* miles, etc. Ellis, Intr. I p. 507, II pp. 408, 409; *Warinus, Varinus* LVD pp. 14, 18, 31, 38, 39, 46, 55, 60, 64, 105, 108, 143; *Warinus* ibid. p. 60 = *Werinus* ibid. p. 68; *Warinus* Mansel Chr. Petr. p. 166; *Warini* (gen.) le buteler RM I p. 122; *Warinus* le ostricer Test. Nev. p. 283; *Waringus*[1] RB p. 196 (AD 1166); *Garinus* (Ess., Norf., etc.), *Garinus* cocus (Norf.), *Guarinus* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 322, 332; *Garino* de Bassingeburn = *Warino* de Bassingeburne RH I pp. 418, 427, Rot. Fin. p. 459 (AD 1207); *Guarinus* decanus Ann. Dunst. p. 76 (AD 1222); *Guerinus* miles et monachus LVD p. 140 (Obit.).

OG *Warin* and *Werin* (very common), *Guarin, Guerin* (Rom.) F 1540, OF *Guarin, Garin* Langlois p. 254 f. On the etymology of this name-stem see **Warenbold*. A NF dim. form is *Warinot* (surname) RH II p. 596.

Warmebolt, see **Warenbold*.

Warnerus (Wilts., Derb., Nott.), *Warnerus* (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.), *Warnerus* (homo Willielmi Peverel, Nott.), *Warnerius* (Suss., Som., etc.), *Warnarius* (Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; *Warnerius* LVD pp. 44, 90; (Sansun filius) *Uuarnerii* ibid. p. 50; *Warennerus* ibid. p. 65; *Wariner* le Botiler (Buck.) RH I p. 30; *Warnerus* Engayne (Hunt.) ibid. II p. 635; *Warner* de Lisoriis Pipe Roll I p. 42; *Warner* (monk) AS Chr. 1114 E; *Garnerus* (homo Ricardi, Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 322; *Guarnerius* LVD p. 23; *A-guarnier*(?) LVD p. 68; *Gwarner* (Ess.) Rot. Fin. p. 436; *Garnerus* de Caleto CR II p. 36 (AD 1225); Gerardus *Gerner* (Dover) RB p. 615 (AD 1211—12).

OG *Warinhari, Warinher, Warinarius*[2], *Guarner, Garner*

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[1] Cf. Luhmann p. 37. *Warincus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 408 probably belongs here.

[2] For the etymology see **Warenbold* and *Aeðelhere*.

(Rom.), *Werinhere, Wernher,* (very common) F 1544 f., OF *Guarnier, Garnier* Langlois p. 257 f. *Gerner* above is probably = **Guerner* < *Werner.* — The surnames *Warnare, Warner* LVD pp. 109, 112, 118 are of distinct origin, viz. from the ME appellative *warner(e),* a warren keeper; cf. Eustachius le *Warner* Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 577 (AD 1272) and the fem. (Emma) la *Warnere* Rot. Orig. I p. 172 (Edw. II.).

Wasce, see *Wazo.*

Wascelin, see *Wazelin.*

***Wasger**: *Guascher* (comes Sci Pauli) CR I p. 488 (AD 1222).

OG *Wasuger, Vasger, Vasker* F 1548. The first member belongs to *wasan* 'pollere' or is, according to Bruckner (p. 55), a gradation-form of *wisu-* 'gut'. Cf. also *Gervas* above. For the second member see *Amelger.*

Wasuuic prepositus (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409.

Other compounds with *Was-*[1] are lacking in OE, whereas they are not unfrequent in OG. The present one, however, is not on record. The second member is the same as in **Herewig* above.

Watelin, *Watelyn* (surnames) Inq. Non. pp. 259, 319, Rot. Orig. I p. 121, RH I p. 540; *Gatelin, Gatelyn* Plac. pp. 802, 803, etc.

Cf. *Waddolenus, Watlin, Wadelin*[2] (Rom.) F 1491, OF *Guadelin* Langlois p. 301. It is probable, however, that *Watelin* is a dim. form of *Wat* < *Walter.* In such case, ME *Gatelin* is < **Gat* < *Galter*; it is at any rate not < *Gertrude,* as Bardsley (p. 311) suggests[3].

Waubert, see *Walbertus.*

Waucher, see *Walchere.*

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[1] Cf. the preceding name.

[2] Dim. forms of compounds with *Wad-,* see *Wadard.*

[3] The pet-form *Gatty* (< *Gertrude*), from which *Gatelin* would be a derivative, is, as far as I know, a NE formation.

Waudin, see *Waldin.*

Wayfer, see *Waifer.*

Wazelinus (Leic., Warw., Derb.), *Wazelinus* (homo Episcopi Baioc., Nott.), *Wazelinus* (homo Drogonis de Bevrere, Yorks.), *Wazelinus* (homo Goisfridi de Wirce, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; *Wascelin*, *Wascelyn*, *Wacelin*, *Wacelyn* (surnames) Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 10, 66, 233 (AD 1247—56), CR I pp. 237, 314, 450 (AD 1215—21), CRC p. 22, RH I p. 120; *Wazelin* (surname, Linc.) Test. Nev. p. 344; *Wesselin* (surname, Norf.) RH I p. 456; *Gascelin*, *Gacelin*, *Gacelyn*, *Gas(s)elin* (surnames) CR I pp. 236, 361 (AD 1215—18), II p. 99 (AD 1226), Exc. Rot. Fin. II pp. 13, 95 (AD 1247, 51), CRC pp. 94, 138, 143, 145, 148, 153, 205, RM II pp. 137, 269.

OG *Wazilin*, *Wazelin*, *Wacelin*, *Wascelin*, *Wezelin* (F 1550), OF *Gacelin*, *Gaselin* (Langlois p. 244), dim. forms of *Wazo* (below). Cf. also *Wezil* = *Werinhardus* Stark p. 93.

Wazo (Surr., Berks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409; *Wazo* (archidiaconus, Durham) Prior. Hexh. p. 167 (AD 1153); Walterus filius) *Waconis* (*Wationis*) RB p. 241 (AD 1166); *Waze* (surname, Norf.) RH I p. 439 (Edw. I.); *Waz* (surname) RH II pp. 43, 44, 269; *Wace* de Ponte (Lond.) RLP p. 58 (AD 1207); *Wace* KC pp. 110, 112; *Wace* (surname) Rot. Orig. I p. 224 (Edw. II.), RH II p. 764 (Edw. I.); **Wacius* (*Wacio*, dat.) CR I p. 152 (AD 1213); *Wace*, the well-known AN chronicler; *Wasce* (surname, Cornw.) Fines I p. 343 (John); *Gazo* Wint. DB p. 533; *Gace* de Gisorz CR II p. 12 (AD 1225); *Gaceus* FY p. 21 (AD 1322); *Gase* (surname) CR II p. 174 (AD 1227), etc.

OG *Waz(z)o*, Fris. *Watso, Watse* (F 1549, Stark p. 82, Winkler p. 427), OF *Gace* (Langlois p. 244), hypochoristic forms of compounds with *Wad-* or *Warin-* (cf. *Wadard* and **Warenbold*). Cf. *Azo* above.

***Wederan**: *Guederan'* (gen., Norf.) Rot. Fin. p. 526 (AD 1214).

This name is probably to be derived < OG *Widuram*,

Widrannus (Pol. Irm.), *Guiderand* etc. F 1570 ff. The *e* of the first member of *Guederan'* might be due to the OF transition of *ĭ* > *e* (cf. OHG *witu* 'Wald'; OE *wudu* was used as a name-element). The first member might further be OHG *wît* (OE *wīd*) 'weit', since *e* for *ī* is not unknown in ME texts. And lastly, the original form might have been *Wed-* (OHG *wet(t)i*, O Fris. *wed* 'Pfand'). Cf. the instances in F 1491 ff. For the second member see *Bertram*.

Weland: *Welland* (Dev.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 265; *Weland* (Linc.) RCR I p. 299 (AD 1199); *Weland* (Suff.) ibid. p. 222 (AD 1199); Ricardus *Willand* FY p. 221 (AD 1496); *Galland*, *Galant* (surnames) RH I p. 147, Inq. Non. pp. 3, 171 (AD 1341); *Galent* (surname) Inq. Non. p. 307.

Weland further occurs in Beowulf v. 455 (*Welandes* geweorc), Waldere 1, 2 (*Welandes* work), II, 9 (*Welandes* bearn) and in Deor's Klage v. 1, and in all these instances it is the name of the famous smith. Cf. also the pl. ns *Welandes* smiððan KCD 1172 (AD 955) and *Welandes* stocc BCS 603 (AD 903)[1]. For OG *Weland* see F 1553 f. Etymological suggestions are found in Heusler (ZfdA 52, 98 f.), Meyer (Germania XIV, 289), Kluge (ZfdWortf. 8, 144), Paul's Gr. 2, 159—62, AfdA 13, 23, etc. *Willand* above is probably < OG *Wiland* (< *Wieland*). As regards the form *Galant* etc. it might be < OF *Galant*, the epic form of *Weland*, see Kalbow p. 94, but also the OF adj. *gal(l)ant* 'gallant'[2].

Wenelincus, see *Wenenc*.

***Wenemarus**, see *Winemarus*.

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[1] See Binz p. 186 f.

[2] To be kept distinct from the p. n. *Wel(l)and* is the river name *Welland*, as Binz has already pointed out; further the pl. n. *Welland*, parish and village in co. Worc. (see Bartholomew, Gazetteer); cf. Willelmo *Welond* (RM II p. 227) and Willelmo *de Weland* (ibid. p. 255). Cf. further (of) *Weallande* AS Chr. 1040 E ("Welsh i. e. foreign country"). And lastly, the surnames *Weiland*, *Weyland* are of local origin; cf. de *Weylaund*, de *Wegeland* etc. Plac. p. 735, Wickw. Reg, p 278.

Wenenc, *Wennenc* presbyter (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409.

Cf. OG *Wening* (Mod. G *Wening*), a mutated form of the common p. n. *Waning*[1] F 1523. *-enc* < *-ing* is NF. — The form *Wenelincus*[2] (Bedf.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 409, is probably a patronymic derivative from OG *Wenilo* (OF *Guenelon*) F 1522, Kalbow p. 49.

Werinus, see *Warin.*

***Werlin**, *Guerlinus* (Wilts.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333.

A NF form of an OG etymon **Werilin*[3] (cf. Rom. *Waralenus* F 1533). Incorrect is Hildebrand's derivation (DB p. 350) of *Guerlinus* < OG *Warlind*, which is a fem. name. Cf. also *Gerling* above.

Werno cantor Linc. Obit. p. 160; *Guerno* de Peiz (Poix?) Hildebrand DB p. 341.

OG *Werino, Werno* (< **Warino*[4]) F 1540. The OE pl. ns (on) *Wœrnan hylle* (AD 958), (on) *Wernan festen* (AD 739), (on) *Wernan brôc* (AD 854)[5] probably contain a native equivalent *Werna.*

Wer(r)ic: *Guericus* (Norf.), *Gueri* (canonicus S. Pauli, Lond.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; *Gueri* Flandr̃ MRS p. 142; *Werric* de Marines (Hertf.) Rot. Fin. pp. 247, 277 (AD 1205); *Werry* de Cadamo ('Caen') RH II p. 528 (Edw. I.); *Werrico* (obl.) de Loherenñ CR I p. 262 (AD 1216); *Werricus* Flandrensis (brother of the hospital of Jerusalem at York) CCR II p. 450 (AD 1294); *Werric'* de Valoines (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 56 (John).

OF *Guerri* (Langlois p. 302) postulates a Germanic groundform **Werric*[6], see Kalbow p. 44. *Wericus* (F 1533) is rather a dim. form. The discrepancy between the above

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[1] The stem is perhaps OHG *wân* (OE *wēn*) 'Hoffnung'; cf. F 1521.

[2] *Wenellic* LVD p. 61 is probably the same name.

[3] Mod. G *Wehrlein.*

[4] For *Warin-* see **Warinbold.*

[5] See Middendorff p. 144.

[6] Cf. *Warimer* and *Albericus.*

instances as regards the rendering of *r* may be due to the ME vacillation between single and double consonants, for which cf. Menger p. 89 and references.

***Werrina**, *Guerrina* (wife of Robert de Bello Tofte) Abbr. Plac. p. 230; *Guerrine* (dat.) (wife of Galfred de Gurdun) CR II p. 10 (AD 1225).

A NF form of OG *Werina* (< **Warina*) F 1540, Heyne p. 29, the fem. equivalent of *Warin* and *Werno* above. For the double *r* see the preceding name.

Wesselin, see *Wazelinus*.

Wiard, see **Wic(h)ard*.

Wiberga (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410, LVD p. 110.

Cf. the Rom. form *Guiberga* < *Wicbirga* (F 1579), the first member being OHG *wîg*, *wîc* 'Kampf'. For the second member cf. *Alberia*.

***Wibert**, *Guibertus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333; *Guibertus* Marlesuein CMR III p. 269.

OG *Wigbert*, *Wibert*, *Guibert* (OF) F 1580, Langlois p. 302 f. Cf. *Wiberga* and *Adalbert*. The OE equivalent *Wigbeorht* is not uncommon.

***Wibrand**, *Wibrandi* (gen.) de Stauere[1] CR I p. 604 (AD 1224); *Wybrand* ibid. p. 197 (AD 1215).

OG *Wigbrand*, *Wicbrand*, *Wibrant*, etc. F 1581, Frisian *Wibrandus*, *Wybrandus* Winkler p. 435. Cf. *Wiberga* and *Aeðelbrand*.

Wicelin LVD p. 51 (13th c.).

OG *Wizelin*, *Wicelin*, etc. (F 1627 f.), in most cases hypochoristic dim. forms of compounds with *Wid-*; cf. also *Wicelin* = *Werinhardus* Stark p. 94 and *Wizo* below[2].

***Wic(h)ard**: *Guichardus* KCD 754 (AD 1020—38); *Wicardus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; *Wychardus*, *Gwychardus* de

[1] Mentioned together with several other German merchants.

[2] It is not probable that *Wicelin* is = **Wikelin* < OG *Wikelin* < *Wîg-* (F 1578). As regards the form *Wigelin* (Grein 871), it is perhaps a mistake for **Wigelm* < the common OE p. n. *Wighelm*, as Searle suggests.

Charron (Northumbr.) Plac. pp. 598, 604 (Edw. I.); Ernald *Guichard* (merchant of Toulouse) CR II p. 159 (AD 1226); Hugo *Wycharde* LVD p. 113; Amauric *Gychard* (Winch.) CCR II p. 9 (AD 1258); *Guicard* de Lebreto (Archdeacon of Canterbury) CPR II p. 484 (AD 1312).

OG *Wighard*, *Wichard* (very common), *Wicart*, *Wiard*, *Guiard*, etc. F 1583, OF *Guichart*, *Guicart* Langlois p. 304. The first member is OHG *wîg*, *wîc* (see *Wiberga*) in which latter form *c* has remained in Norman but become *ch* in Centr. F before the following *a*. This explains the coexistence of *Wicard*, *Guicard* and *Wychard*, *Guichard*. For the second member see **Actard*[1].

Widaldus (homo Widonis de Credun, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; *Vidald* de Fontard CR I p. 201 (AD 1214).

OG *Widald*, *Witald*, etc. F 1573 f. The first member is OHG *wît* (OE *wīd*) 'weit'; for the second member see *Ansoldus*. No OE equivalent is on record.

Widardus (Heref.), *Widard* (Shropsh.), *Widardus* (Suss., Glouc., etc.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 267, 410; *Widard'* Flandr' (Kent) Rot. Canc. p. 217.

OG *Withard*, *Witard* F 1570. Cf. *Widaldus* and **Actard*. No earlier instances recorded in England.

Widboldus(?) mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 131.

OG *Witbald -bold*, etc. F 1565. Cf. *Widaldus* and *Albod(o)*. Not found elsewhere in OE.

Widelardus (North.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 410; Nich's *Wyfelard* RH II p. 745 (Edw. I.); Johannes *Withelarde* Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 324.

Continental compounds with *Widel-*, an extended form of *Wid-* (see *Widaldus*), occur, e. g. *Widelbertus* (Bruckner p. 321), *Widelfred* (Pol. Irm.), *Widelhagdis* (ibid.), *Widler*, etc.

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[1] As regards the moneyer's name *Wiard* (Alfred, Aethelstan), Grueber pp. 33, 121, it might be from the common OE p. n. *Wigheard*. Cf. also *Wig(e)ard* mon. (Eadmund) Grueber p. 139. *Wiardus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 410, Cart. Eynsh. I p. 68 might also be < *Widardus* (below) with NF loss of the intervocalic dental.

F 1574 f.[1] — Here also belong *Wielardus* (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 509, II p. 410, *Wielard* (Kent) CRC pp. 237, 238 (AD 1200), Abbr. Plac. p. 65 (John), and *Wihelardus*[2] (de Trophil) RB p. 438 (AD 1166) with NF loss of the dental. **Wido** de Oilgi[3] (Oxf.), *Wido* de Rembuedcurt (Linc., Cambr., North., etc.), (Willelmus filius) *Widonis* (Som., Glouc.), *Wido* angevinus (Norf.), *Wido* (gener Hugonis) (Linc.), *Wido* presbyter (Som.) Ellis, Intr. I pp. 459, 474, 512, II p. 410; Abbas *Wido* LVD p. 31; *Wido* ibid. pp. 38, 80, 82, 85, 145 (Obit.); *Vido* ibid. p. 39; *Wido* de Brionne ibid. p. 96; *Wido* de Beureun ibid. p. 103; *Wid* le Franceis ibid. p. 107; *Widonem* abbatem[4] AS Chr. I p. 290; *Wido*, *Guido*, *Gwido* de Diua KC pp. 79, 84, 95, 109; *Wydo* de Bretevill CR I p. 264 (AD 1216); *Widon'* (obl.) de Verdun (Suff.) Abbr. Plac. p. 44 (John); *Gidonem* (acc.) de Erencurt CR I p. 40 (AD 1205); *Gwido* de Humez LVD p. 32; *Guido* de Bello Campo, comes Warrewici[5] FA V p. 213 (AD 1324); *Gydon'* (abl.) Bryan = *Wydon* Bryan RH I p. 85; *Gwidonis* (gen.) Flemeng RLP p. 134 (AD 1215); cf. also *Wido* of Amiens, who came to England with Mathilda, FNC IV p. 178.

OG *Wido*[6] ("ungemein häufig"), *Guido*, *Gido* (Rom.) F 1563. On the Rom. spellings *Gu*, *G* for *W* see Kalbow p. 117. It is not quite certain whether OE *Wida* is recorded, since such pl. ns as (to) *widan geate*, (on) *widan leh*, (on) *widan cumb* might contain the OE adj. *wīd* 'weit, breit'; cf. Middendorff p. 150. But *Wid-* certainly occurs in native compounds which might have given rise to a hypochoristic form.

Wielard, see *Widelardus*.

***Wiger**, *Guigerio* (abl.) LVD p. 73.

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[1] For the second member see **Actard*.
[2] *h* may have been inserted to avoid hiatus.
[3] See FNC IV p. 47.
[4] See FNC IV p. 412.
[5] Cf. FNC IV p. 191.
[6] A hypochoristic form of compounds with *Wīd-*, see *Widaldus*.

OG *Wigheri*, *Wiger*, etc. F 1584, OF *Guigier*, Langlois p. 305. Cf. *Wiberga* and *Aeðelhere*. The OE equivalent is *Wighere*.

Wigeran the clerk CCR II p. 360 (AD 1290).

OG *Wigram*, *Wigramnus*, etc. F 1585. Cf. *Wiberga* and *Bertram*.

[**Wihtbrond** minister BCS 585, 600 (AD 901, 903), RM I p. 301, is an error for *Wihtbrord*.]

Wilard de Amiens RLP p. 85 (AD 1208).

OG *Willihard*, *Wilhart*[1], etc. F 1599. Other instances of this name in ME are perhaps as a rule < OE *Wilheard*.

***Wilgrim**, cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 177, and OG *Willegrim*, *Wilgrim* F 1599.

Willelm: *Willelmus*, *Willielmus*, *Wyllelm* episcopus Londoniensis[2] KCD 811, 813, 815, 817, 824, 825 (AD 1061—66); Rex *Willelmus* (the Conqueror) mentioned for the first time in AS Chr. 1031 E; *Willelmus* (Dors., Oxf., etc.), *Willelmus* (filius Ansculfi, Surr., Berks., etc.), *Willelmus* arcuarius (Hants.), *Willelmus* (filius Azor, Hants.), *Willelmus* camerarius (Buck., Bedf.), *Willelmus* comes (Norf.), *Willelmus* (filius Constantini, Buck., Ess.), *Willelmus* (filius Corbucion, Berks., Worc.), *Willelmus* episcopus Tedfordensis[3], *Willelmus* (filius Goisfridi, Kent), *Willelmus* hostiarius (Dev., Nott.), *Willelmus* (filius Ricardi, Berks.), *Willelmus* (filius Widonis, Wilts, Som., etc.), *Willelmus* de Warene[4], etc. Ellis, Intr. I pp. 506, 510 ff., II pp. 269, 412 ff.; *Willelm* (Bish. of Durham) AS Chr. 1087 E; *Willelm* of Ou[5] (Eu) ibid. 1096 E; *Willelm* of Alderi (cousin of William of Eu) ibid.; *Willelme* (dat.) Giffarde[6] (Bish. of Winchester) ibid. 1100 E; *Willelm* (Archb.

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[1] The first member is OHG *willo*, *willio* (OE *willa*) 'Wille'; second member as in **Actard*.

[2] = *Willelm* þæs cynges preost AS Chr. 1048 E. Cf. FNC IV p. 26.

[3] = *William* Belfagus, Beaufoe. Cf. AS Chr. 1085 E.

[4] Earl of Warren in Normandy.

[5] See FNC IV p. 39.

[6] See FNC V p. 167.

of Canterbury)[1] ibid. 1140 E; *Willelm* de Walteuile (Abbot of Peterborough) ibid. 1154 E; *Willelmus*, *Will'mus* LVD pp. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 34, 35, 37, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, etc.; *Willelmus* Franceys Chr. Petr. p. 111; *Will'* Lotoringensis Anec. Oxon. 13, 38 (c. AD 1107—37); *Willelmi* (gen.) Flandrensis[2] CMR III p. 216; *Wi̇̃lo* (abl.) de Frisia CR I p. 282 (AD 1216); *Willelmus* Flemyng, mercer, FY p. 95 (AD 1394); *Willem* LVD p. 79; *William* (surname, Ess.) Inq. Non. p. 319; *Guilliam* Rot. Orig. II p. 267 (Edw. III.); Arnaldus *Gilliam* ibid. I p. 175 (Edw. II.), etc. Cf. also *William* of Warelwast (Bish. of Exeter 1107—36) FNC IV p. 378; *William* Longchamp (Bish. of Ely 1189—97) ibid. V p. 689; *William* of Roumare (Earl of Lincoln) ibid. p. 295; *William* Malet ibid. III p. 466.

OG *Willihelm*[3], *Willehelm*, *Willelm*, *Guill(i)elm* (Rom.) F 1601 f. Most of the instances of this name in England have come over from Normandy and France, where it was extremely common[4]. The fact that it was borne by the Conqueror and his son *William* Rufus and by a great many important Normans, both secular and ecclesiastical, contributed to giving this name the popularity that it has preserved up to the present day[5]. It does not seem, however, to have been altogether unknown in OE, although it is rarely recorded. It occurs in LV as *Uilhelm* and in the East Anglian Genealogies (OET p. 171) as *Wilhelm* and the patronymic *Wilhelming*. Next instance is *Wilhelm* presbyter KCD 792, 800 (AD 1050, 1054). In consideration

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[1] = *William* of Corbeil, a Norman.

[2] Cf. *William* le Fleming CCR I p. 211 (AD 1235).

[3] Cf. *Wilard* and **Anshelm*.

[4] Cf. also Chr. Joh. Ox. p. 55 (AD 1153): "Eodem anno natus est duci Henrico et Alienora filius, quem vocavit *Willelmum* quod proprium nomen est ducibus Aquitanorum et comitis Andegaviæ".

[5] From England it was borrowed into ON, see Lind 1110.

of the fact that there is a lapse of about two hundred years between these instances, and that in the same charters in KCD several continental p. ns occur, it is probable that the last-mentioned instance is of foreign origin, like those in DB and later records. The present form *William* is < NF *Williaume* (*Guilliaume*). Of the great number of dim. forms that have sprung from this name we may mention *Wilemin*, *Wilmot*, *Gilemota*, *Williametta*, *Wilin*, *Wil(l)iot*, *Wilot* and *Wilkin*.

Willelma CPR I p. 441 (AD 1291); *Gwillelme* (gen.) domicelle Regine Exc. Rot. Fin. II p. 47 (AD 1248—49).

NF fem. forms of the preceding name, OF *Guillelma* Bergert pp. 29, 50. Cf. F 808: "Zur bildung von fem. auf *-helm* verirrten sich nur romanisierte Westfranken".

***Winand**, *Wynando* (dat.) Tyrel (Cornw.) Rot. Orig. I p. 217 (Edw. II.); *Ginant* (Cant.) Abbr. Plac. p. 54 (John); *Guynand* ibid. p. 290 (Edw. I.); *Gwinant* (fil. Lancelin') Fines I p. 326 (John).

OG *Wignand*, *Winand*, etc. F 1587, Heinzel p. 331, Bruckner p. 321, Carstens p. 34, OF *Guinant*, cf. Kalbow p. 81. For the etymology of the members see *Wiberga* and *Elinant*.

***Winda**, *Guindam*, *Gindam* (acc.) (wife of Will. de Bisket) Fines I pp. 132, 140 (John).

The etymon of these NF forms is perhaps OG **Winda* (cf. *Windo* F 1618), a short form of fem. compounds with *Wind-*[1], such as *Windberta*, *Windegunda*, etc. F 1618 f.

Windilgerus LVD p. 6 (12th c.).

OG *Wendilger* F 1528. *Windil-* for *Wendil-* (occurring in such OG names as *Windelburg*, *-gard*, *-mar*, *-mod*, etc.) is probably to be explained as representing a dialectal development of OG *e* (< *a* + *i*) > *i*; cf. Franck, Afr. Gr. § 13, Gallée, As. Gr. § 54.

[1] Which might belong to the name of the *Wends*, see *Winedulf*. It is possible, however, that the name under notice is Celtic. Cf. *Vindilla*, *Vindillius*, *Vindo*, *Vindon(i)a*, etc. (Stokes p. 265) < **vindo-s* 'weiss'.

Winedulf mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 132.

OG *Winidulf*, *Winidolf* ("öfters") F 1620. The first member is OHG *Winida*[1] (ON *Vindr*) 'Wenden'; cf. Kluge, Zfd Wortf. 8, 142. For the second member cf. *Adelulfus*.

Wineger, *Winiger*, *Winier* mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary pp. 132 ff., 137.

OG *Winiger*[2] F 1613. An OE equivalent **Winegar* is probably found in the pl. n. (to) *Winagares stapule* KCD 746 (AD 1032) and perhaps in the moneyer's name *Winegear* (Edw. the Elder) Grueber p. 84.

Winegod, see Björkman, Pers. p. 177.

Wineman mon. (Cnut, Edw. Conf.) Grueber pp. 300, 333; *Winemannus* (Hertf.) BCS 812 (AD 944—46); *Wineman* presbyter ibid. 1228, 1264 (AD 969, 970); *Wynemannes* (gen.) ibid. 1130 (AD 980); *Wineman* (Suss.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 415.

This name is of comparatively late appearance in OE, as may be seen from the above instances, and perhaps < OG *Winiman*, *Wineman* (also occurring in Rom. records) F 1615. Cf. *Wineger* and *Godesman*.

Winemarus (Northampt.)[3], *Winemarus* Flandrensis (Buck.), *Winemar* (Dev.), *Winemerus* (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 513, II pp. 269, 415; *Wenemari* (gen.) advocati[4] BCS 661 (AD 918).

OG *Wini-*, *Winemar*, *Wenemar* F 1615 f. For the members see *Wineger* and *Ainmer*.

Wintrehardus (homo Walterii de Aincurt, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 415.

This name is hardly native. Cf. the compounds with *Winter-* in F 1620 f. On *Winterfugel* and *Winterleda* see Björkman, Pers. p. 177.

[**Wistricus** (Nott., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 270 is not a com-

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[1] Cf. *Winedi* BCS 172 (AD 745).

[2] The first member is OHG *wini* (OE *wine*) 'Freund'; for the second member see *Amelger*.

[3] "Chief steward to the Earl of Brittany".

[4] Appearing as a witness to a grant by Elstrudis to the Abbey of S:t Peter at Ghent.

pound with *Wist-* or *West-*, as Searle seems to think, but = *Wihtric* (Suff.) ibid. p. 268. On the spelling *st* for *ht* see Morsbach, Me Gr. § 16.]

Witso, see the following name.

Wizo (homo Drogonis de Bevrere. Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 416; *Witson'* (obl.) Flandr' (Pembroke) MRS p. 136; *Witso* (fil. Leuestani) ibid. p. 145.

OG *Wiz(z)o*, *Witzo* (F 1627, Heyne p. 31), hypocoristic forms of compounds with *Wid-* or *Wig-*[1]; cf. *Wizo = Wigbert* Stark p. 84.

Wlbrand LVD p. 80.

Cf. Björkman, Pers. p. 167, and OG *Wolfbrand, -brant, Wolbrand*, etc. F 1648, Fris. *Wolbrand* Winkler p. 449.

***Wolfwine**, *Guolfwine* mon. (Edw. Conf.) Grueber p. 374.

A Rom. form of OG *Wolfuin*, etc. F 1661 f. For the members cf. *Adelulfus* and *Amalwin*.

***Wulfbert**, *Gulbertus* (homo Hugonis, Yorks.), *Gulbertus* (Hunt., Leic.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 135, 333; *Gulbert* of Hugleville (one of the Conqueror's companions) FNC IV p. 449; *Gulb'd* LVD p. 60 = *Gulberd* de Riviere ibid. p. 69.

A NF form of OG *Vulfbert, Wolfbert*[2] F 1646 f. On the loss of *f* see Mackel p. 181. The final *d* of *Gulberd* is due to the AN vacillation between final *d* and *t*.

***Wulfer**, *Gulfer* of Neuchâtel mentioned in FNC IV p. 644.

OG *Wulf-, Wolfhere*[3], *Gulfarius* (Rom.) F 1652 f. Wrong is Bardsley's explanation[4] of *Gulfer* < Scandinavian *Gunnolfr* by change of *l* for *n*, "a common habit". Further, the AN surname *Gulafra, Gulafre* (see Moisy p. 166) has been erroneously derived from the same etymon.

Wulfheard Friesa AS Chr. 897 A.

OG *Wulfhard*[5], Fris. *Wolfert* F 1651, Winkler p. 450. *Wulfheard* is also a common OE name.

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[1] See *Widaldus* and *Wiberga*.
[2] Cf. **Wolfwine* and *Adalbert*.
[3] Cf. **Wolfwine* and *Aeðelhere*.
[4] P. 342.
[5] Cf. **Wolfwine* and **Actard*.

***Wulfram**, *Wulfrani* (gen.) Abbr. Plac. p. 209 (Edw. I.); *Wlframus* LVD p. 61.

OG *Wulfram, Wolfram,* etc. F 1654. Cf. **Wolfwine* and *Bertram.* It is not quite certain whether *Wolramus* (Linc.) Rot. Orig. II p. 92 (Edw. III.) belongs here or is identical with *Walramus* (see *Waleran*).

***Wulfred**, *Gulferedus*[1] (homo Roberti de Statford, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 333.

A NF form of OG *Wulfrad, Wulfred*[2], etc. F 1657 — *Gurred* (frater Hugonis) CCR III p. 116 (AD 1308) is most likely identical with OF *Gurrei* < *Guirré* < OG *Widrad*; see Langlois pp. 320, 322, Kalbow p. 44.

***Wulfward**, *Guluert* (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 135.

A NF form of OG **Wulfward* (*Ulfoard* Pol. Irm.) or of the common OE p. n. *Wulfweard.*

Wulind de Turroc Rot. Canc. p. 347.

Cf. OG *Vulflindis* (Pol. Irm.), *Wolflind(a),* etc. F 1656. For the members cf. **Wolfwine* and *Godelent.*

Wybrand, see **Wibrand.*

Wydo, see *Wido.*

Y.

Ylbert, see *Ilbert.*

Ylger, see *Ilger.*

Ymberd, see *Imbert.*

Yngelmar, see *Ingelmar.*

Ysenbard, Ysenbert, see *Isenbard.*

Ysolda, see *Iseldis.*

Ysudo LVD p. 102 is certainly a variant of *Iseldis.*

Yðelbard, see **Idelbard.*

Yva, Yvo, see **Iva, Ivo.*

[1] The same person is called *Gulfer* (ibid.).

[2] Cf. **Wolfwine* and **Amaldredus.*

Principal tests for Cont.-Germ. p. ns in England.

The first Germanic conquerors of England brought over with them the personal nomenclature that we call the Old English or Anglo-Saxon. In point of their formation the OE p. ns do not exhibit any differences from the Cont.-Germ. names. The technics of forming a p. n. by uniting two themes was inherited from Indo-European times and is common to all Germanic dialects. The same also holds good of the method of coining hypocoristic forms by adding a weak ending to a name-stem or to the contracted product of the two name-stems by which a p. n. is as a rule made up[1]. Further, the way of coining dim. formations by means of suffixes (e. g. *-ic(a)*, *-il(a)*, *uc(a)*, etc.) is the same in OE and OG, although the suffixes offer some points of variety, as will be seen below. A question, however, that

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[1] The names in *-a* (Latinized *-o*) in OE are in many cases very difficult to judge. Sometimes they are native hypocoristic forms which easily can be joined to existing names or name-stems. In other cases, when there are no name-stems with which they can be associated, they may be the last survivals of name-elements otherwise gone out of use in the language. It is perhaps also possible that such names may be original agential nouns indicative of some prominent activity of their bearers. It should further be borne in mind that there exist similar Celtic hypocoristic forms, of which many, although in most cases etymologically distinct, cannot be distinguished from homonymous Germanic names. And finally, OG and ON short forms occur in England; some of these are easily recognized, others are uncertain or not distinguishable at all.

will require particular consideration is the treatment of the end-vowels of the first members of compound names, i. e. the preservation or syncopation of the composition-joint. In the oldest p. ns in AS sources the composition-vowel is syncopated after long stem-syllables, but preserved after short ones except in *a*- and *wa*-stems[1]. Exceptions to this rule are *Cyn-* (for *Cyne-*), *Hyg-* (for *Hyge-*), *Sig-* (for *Sige-*), *Hildi-* (for *Hild-*) and the short *u*-stems *Frið-* (for *Friðu-*) and *Hað-* (for *Haðu-*). These vacillating forms mark the first instances of a growing uncertainty as to the treatment of the composition-joint. It is difficult to ascertain the causes that have effected these early deviations. The above-mentioned name-stems *Hyg-* and *Sig-* are possibly due to a dialectal (Northumbrian) curtailment (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 263, remark 5). *Cyn-* may have arisen through the influence of the simplex *cyn(n)* or by analogy with such a compound as *cynlic* (*cynelic*) 'proper, suitable'. *Frið-* and *Hað-* may have been influenced by the instances in which these elements occur in a syncopated form as second members of compound names. Similar analogical influences have gradually caused vacillation also in other name-elements. It is noteworthy, too, that compound nouns exhibit a considerable uncertainty in the treatment of the composition-vowel (see Bergsten, A study on compound substantives in English p. 31 ff.), which might have influenced the compound p. ns. When, therefore, we meet with such late OE forms as the moneyer's names *Aldewine*, *Dudeman*, *Ealdabert*, *Huneman*, *Hwat(a)-*, *Hwat(e)-man*, *Lefenoð*, *Tuneman*, or from Latin charters *Kenewold*, *Nodchardus*, *Plegomund*, *Rodeward*, *Tateman*, *Werehard*, etc., the composition-vowel contrary to the above statement might

[1] The *ja*-stems show a double development: either loss of *-ja*, e. g. *Bil-* (< **bilja-*), or loss of *a* and vocalization of *j*, e. g. *Cyni-* (< **kunja-*). In the originally short *jō*-stem *Ecg-* (< **agjō-*) the composition-joint was lost after the gemination by *j* of the preceding consonant.

be explained as the outcome of indigenous analogical influences. But it seems appropriate not to pass in silence another factor that has very likely contributed to cause confusion and uncertainty in the rendering of the OE p. ns. It is well known, especially from the investigations of Bader and Gröger, that the OG p. ns show such a vacillation as regards the preservation or syncopation of the composition-vowel that no definite rules can be established in this respect. And it is particularly worthy of notice that in the OG p. ns that interest us most in this case, the West Frankish, a vowel appears in the joint of the two name-stems by far much more frequently than is ever the case even in late OE p. ns[1]. Considering the lively literary intercourse between Gaul and England, the influence that WF monasteries and other abodes of learning in some periods exercised on English education, and the circumstance that there were a considerable number of continental, mostly West-Frankish, monks who lived in England and perhaps wrote or copied many of the documents in which the OE p. ns are preserved, it need not surprise us, if the scribe or copyist, when writing Latin documents, sometimes imitated the patterns he happened to know from continental records in order to give the AS p. ns what seemed to him a decent Latin appearance. And the native p. ns on the coins may also to some extent be under continental spelling influence as imitations of inscriptions on coins struck by continental moneyers. Further, the moneyer himself or the person who taught him to write his name, may have had some knowledge of documentary spellings.

The native p. ns found in DB and other records under NF influence require special consideration as far as the composition-vowel is concerned. In these p. ns the extremely

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[1] By way of illustration we may mention such WF names as *Aigobert, Allamund, Aldegarius, Andefred, Anseberct, Baldomerus, Bertichramn, Dagaric, Erlebertus, Frameric, Gundiric,* etc.

frequent appearance of *e* in all possible compounds may of course to some extent be explained as a continuation of late OE traditions, but in a great many cases the *e*-vowel is due to continental influence and often to be looked upon as a svarabhakti, inserted to avoid consonant-combinations which were either strange to the Normans or difficult or impossible for them to pronounce. A survey of the instances in which such a svarabhakti-vowel is found in OF epic names of Germanic origin is given by Kalbow (p. 78 ff.).

As regards the quality of the composition-vowel in OE p. ns, it is *i* or *e*, except in the *wā*-stem *Badu-* and in the *u*-stems *Friðu-*, *Haðu-*, etc., in which *u* appears later as *o*, *a*, *e*. When we meet with such forms as *Hwataman*, *Ealdabert* *a* may (apart from possible errors) be a reversed spelling after unstressed *a* had become *e* (e. g. *Haða-* > *Haðe-*). It is further possible that *a* may sometimes be due to an assimilatory change owing to neighbouring sounds. ME forms with *u* like *Columan*, *Heluwisa* are probably to be explained in this way. On the other hand, names like *Theodoric* are merely stereotyped Latin spellings.

Apart from the test of the origin of a p. n. that is to be had from an express statement about the nationality of its bearer, or from the addition of a place-name indicative of the locality from which the person in question has come, and the inferences that may be drawn from neighbouring names or those occurring in the same document etc., the tests of the Cont.-Germ. p. ns dealt with in this book are *phonetical criteria* and *onomatological evidence*.

I. Phonetical criteria.

In the period that elapsed between the Germanic conquest of Britain and the earliest appearance of OE p. ns in literary monuments, the names had, on the whole, undergone the same linguistic development as other words in

the language, so that the phonetical criteria which distinguish the OE dialects from the kindred Germanic dialects of the continent should also serve to distinguish the OE p. ns from continental ones. That already at an early date the dialect of the West Franks differed widely from OE is among other things also manifested by the hint in Bede (L III, C VII) about the Frankish Bishop Agilbert's "barbarous speech", and in time the dialects in question drifted still more apart. An examination from this point of view of the p. ns collected in the name-list above shows, hovewer, that owing to circumstances which will be dealt with in the following pages, only comparatively few safe phonetical criteria can be established.

First of all, conservative tendencies have been more strongly at work in the orthography and form of names than in the language in general, so that they have often assumed a fixed form that, in spite of sound-changes, has remained intact for centuries. Archaic tendencies of this kind are to a large extent to be ascribed to Latin spelling influence which has proved to be the strongest preservatory factor. We need only recall the occurrence of such forms as *Eudo*, *Galfred(us)*, *Hugo*, *Leonard*, *Milo*, *Otto*, and *Reginald*, of which some have been preserved down to our own days. But Latin orthographical influence has not only stereotyped certain forms once current in a district but also effected changes in the aspects of the names. In OE p. ns, the common ligature *æ* was often replaced by *a*, *eo* by *e*, *þ* or *th* by *d*, etc., whence e. g. OE *Aeðel-* assumed the form *Adel-*, *-mær* and *Beorn-* became *-mar(us)* and *Bern-*, and thus coalesced with the equivalent continental forms. It has also been pointed out above in the discussion of the composition-vowel, that the scribes or copyists of OE charters in Latin probably were influenced to some extent by WF spelling habits, otherwise prevalent all over Western Europe. Of particular interest in this respect is the form *Bert-*, *-bert*, of early occurence in OE charters and certainly an imitation

of the WF form, not due to an indigenous development. *-fred(us)* is certainly also in most cases caused by WF *-frēdus*. Other WF peculiarities are the Latinized forms *-arius* (< *-here*) and *-garius* (< *-gār*). We may further mention the substitution of OE *-a* by Latin *-o* in male hypocoristic names and the introduction of *-a* as a fem. ending (*Ada, Emma, Ida*, etc.)[1]. Of continental origin is probably also such an inflection of weak forms in Latin charters as *Abbanæ* (gen.) BCS 8, containing both the OE weak gen. ending *-an* and Latin gen. *æ*. Cf. the WF fem. genitives *Adelane, Aldebergane, Berthanae, Gerbergane*, etc. Gen. forms like *Brordani, Eoppani, Obani* (< *Brorda, Eoppa, Oba*) are also the outcome of a desire to give the names a Latin dress.

Concerning the orthography of the documents that are under NF influence — and they are by far the most numerous — it still more reduces the value of phonetical criteria. The p. ns occurring in these records, both native and foreign, to a great extent exhibit NF peculiarities, which have been pointed out as far as possible in the treatment of each name. It may be added that these, often very voluminous, records are as a rule the results of many scribes whence any homogeneity in spelling cannot be expected, and that they have often treated the names in a very cavalier manner. Instead of advancing further arguments on this point we may be allowed to quote the description of the orthography of the names in the Pipe Rolls[2], since this holds good also of many other ME documents that have been excerpted for the material: "Great ambiguity prevails in the proper names of persons and places which occur on the Pipe Rolls; for these were either Latinized or Gallicized, whenever it was possible to do so, according to the fancy of the scribe or the degree of knowledge he happened to

[1] Of WF-Rom. origin are also fem. derivatives from male names such as **Amalrica, Henrica, Willelma* etc.

[2] Introduction to the study of the Pipe Rolls (Pipe Roll Soc., London 1884), p. 5.

possess. Thus he rendered into Latin or French a Norman or Saxon appellation, just as he happened to prefer one to the other. Consequently, to express one and the same name, we sometimes find it written *Boscus*, at other times *Bois*; for *de Alneto* elsewhere will be found *Dauncy*. . . . Even when the unaltered name is preserved in the ancient vernacular language, still, owing either to the unsettled and changeable orthography of those times, or to the undistinguishable junction of the letters *i*, *n*, *m* and *u* in the same word, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the true reading; one document frequently exhibiting material variations in the spelling of the same name and to such a degree that a person, not familiar with the almost countless modifications of English nomenclature, would scarcely be able to recognize the modern name from seeing it as it was anciently written".

Of some interest in this respect is also the following description of the treatment of ME names, because it is given by a mediæval writer and probably is one of the oldest statements on English p. ns[1]: ". . . quem ille Cantuaritis regem loco præfecerat *Ethelberti* prætacti, cognomento Wren, qui ab aliquibus chronicis nominatur *Egbrithus* sive *Egbertus*, quæ idem sunt. Et nota quod hoc nomen *Ethelbertus* plerumque corrumpitur a scriptoribus; pro quo ponuntur illa duo nomina prætacta, et nonnumquam *Edbertus*; et sic aliquando per metathesim, aliquando per syncopam, talia nomina transformantur. Mos enim est barbaricæ locutionis et maxima Saxonum, verba et nomina, etsi non transponere, transformare tamen apocopando, et sæpius syncopando: ut pro *Thoma*, *Tomme* sive *Tomlin*; pro *Johanne*, *Jankin* sive *Jacke*; et in omnibus talibus apocopæ et syncopæ quasi apponuntur epenthesis et paragoge; unde talis corruptio barytona vitium, ut mihi videtur, inexcusabile compromit, cum improprietas excusabilis appropriari non poterit per figuras".

[1] Hist. Aug. p. 338 (at the beginning of the 15th c.).

Further difficulties in establishing phonetical criteria are caused by analogical influences. In names like *Aba*, the intervocalic *b* has probably been kept by the influence of the form *Abba*, in which the geminated *b* is regularly preserved. *Ec-* may be from *E(c)g-* analogically even in forms where the *g* was not followed by a voiceless consonant. The form *Harding* by the side of *Herding* may be due to the influence of the non-mutated name-element *H(e)ard-*, but it is also possible that the patronymic is a later formation after the time of the *i*-mutation.

It is also to be noticed that continental names or name-elements have sometimes been Anglicized or native p. ns assumed a continental form, which could happen the more easily as most of the OG name-elements also existed in OE p. ns, or at least in the OE vocabulary. There are also some instances of p. ns in England in which OG name-elements have been influenced by ON or vice versa. We need only mention the forms *Outbert*, *As-* and *Ans-* and *-gund(a)* in *T(h)urgund(a)* < ON *Þorgunna*. Owing to the insertion or loss of *d*, ON *Gun-* and OG *Gund-* are sometimes difficult to keep distinct as in *Gundlaf*, *Gundred*, *Gunwine*, *Gunbert*. Some other instances of coalescence of ON and OG name-elements have also been mentioned in the name-list.

For establishing phonetical criteria the principal thing to know is of course the etymology. Everyone who has dealt with the study of p. ns has certainly had the experience that in many cases the etymologies of name-elements are nothing but conjectures. In making out the origin and meaning of a name-stem, one has as a rule not the comparatively safe starting-point that other words in the language present with regard to the sence they have or may be known to have had at an earlier stage of the language. Thus e. g. it is not certain whether *-lind* is = OHG *-linta* (OE *lind*) 'Linde', or = OHG *lint* 'Schlange', or = OHG *lindi* (OE *liðe*) 'weich, sanft'. In the first case *-lind* does not constitute a phonetical criterion, whereas in the other cases it does. **Actard*

might be < OHG *âht* (OE *ōht*) 'feindliche Verfolgung' or < OHG *ahta* (OE *eaht*, *æht*) 'cura, attentio', in which latter case no phonetical criterion can be said to be present owing to the changeable orthography. *Audoenus* is no doubt in some cases a Latin form containing the OG element *Aud-* (OE *Ead-*), but it might also be < *Ald-* with NF vocalization of *l*. In some cases, however, it is possible to speak of phonetical criteria, although the etymology of a name-element is not quite certain; *-sind* e. g., whether < **-sinþa* or < **-swinþa* must be continental, since the equivalent OE forms are *-siþ* and *-swiþ* and there are no other alternative explanations possible. It is further to be noticed that phonetical criteria may exist only on certain conditions, owing to the character of the records in which the names are preserved. In the moneyer's names *Rainoald* (with WF vocalization of *w*), *Rainoald* and *Haiebert* (with WF *ai* < *agi*, *aga*), *Deinolt* (with *t* < *d*), *Dagemond*, *Ergemond*, etc. (with WF *o* < *u*), we have phonetical criteria. But such peculiarities in names occurring in documents which are, or at least may be suspected to be, under NF influence do not prove anything, since they may equally well be found in native names. In view of the above-mentioned considerations only the following phonetical criteria[1] can be established:

A. Vowels and diphthongs.

ai (*ei*), OE *ā* : *Ait-* (*Aitard*); *Bain-* (*Bainard*); *Gai-*, *Wai-* (*Gaimar*, *Waifer*); *Gail-* (*Gail(l)ard*, *Gaillarda*); *Haim-* (**Haimard*, **Haimelin*, *Haimer*, **Haimeric*, *Haiminc*, *Haimo*, *Heimfrid*); *Hait-* (?) (*Haitele*); *Heil-* (*Heilewis*, **Eylewisa*).

ai (< *aga*, *agi*) : only in the moneyer's names *Ainmer*, *Haiebert*, *Rainoald*.

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[1] Some of these are also ON.

au (OE *ea*) : **Auelin*, *Auelina*, *Auesgot*; *Audoenus* and *Gaufrid* are uncertain; *Gaus-* (*-bert*, *-frid*).

ē (< *ai*, OE *ā*) : *Er-* (?) (*Erhart*); *Ger-* (*Gerald*, *Geram*, *Gerard*, *Gerbald*, *Gerberg(i)a*, *Gerbert*, *Gerbodo*, *Gerbrandus*, *Gerbrun*, *Gerburg*, *Gerelmus*, *Gerferð*, *Gerin*, *Gerling*, *Gerlo*, *Germund*, **Gero*, *Gerrad*, *Ger(r)ic*, *Gersent*, **Gertrud*, *Gerulf*, *Gervas*, **Gervasia*, **Gerwig*, *Gerwin*); *-ger* (*Amelger*, *Ansiger*, *Berenger(a)*, *Bergerus*, *Engelger*, *Erchenger*, *Flodger*, *Fro(d)ger*, *Harger*, *Ilger*, *Malger*, *Manger*, *Odger*, *Ro(d)ger*, *Walger*, *Warenger*, **Wasger*, **Wiger*, *Windilgerus*, *Wineger*).

eu (OE *eo*) : *Eudo*.

i (< *e* < *a* + *i*) : *Windil-* (*Windilgerus*); *Riginald*.

i (< *ē* < *ai*) : *Gir-* (*Girald*, *Girard*, *Girbert*, **Giric*, *Girin*, *Gyreweard*).

i (< *iu*, *io* < *eu*) : *Liardus*, *Liboret*, **Lidgeard*, *Liger*, **Lipperd*, **Tiard*, *Tibaldus*, *Tibert*, **Tideman*, *Tigerus*, *Tirry*.

o (*a*) < *i* : *Hold-* (?) (*Holdabrand*, *Holdegrim*, *Holdiard*); *-hold*, *-hald* (*Biliald*, **Godehold*, *Isolda*, *Maholt* (*Mahalt*), *Oriolda*, **Richolda*).

o (< *u*, OE *u*) : *-mond* (only in the moneyer's names *Dagemond*, *Ergemond*, *Siemond*).

oi (< *au* + *i*) : *Gois-* (*Goisbert*, *Goisfrid*, *Goislin*, *Goismer*); *Joi-* (*Joibert*).

ō (OE *ē* < *ō* + *i*) : *Conrad*.

ō (< *au*, OE *ea*) : *-got*, *-god* (*Aingot*, **Arngot* (?), *Auesgot*, **Ermengot*, **Fredegod*, **Fulgod*, *Helgot*, *Ise(n)god*, *Leofgod*, *Maingod*, *Mangod*, *Norgot*, *Oggod*, *Sunegod*, *Waringod*, *Winegod*); *Gos-*, *Goz-* (*Gosberia*, *Gosbert*, *Gosbold*, *Goscelmus*, *Gosewold*, *Gosfrid*, **Goshard* (?), *Gosinus*, **Gosmer*, **Gosram*, *Goswin*, *Gozel(in)*, **Gozelina*, **Gozer*, *Gozo*); *Hōh-* (*Houardus*); *Jo-* (*Johais*, *Jouin*);

-not (*Fresnotus*); *Od-* (*Odard, Odbert, *Odbold, *Odburg, Odelin(a), Oder, Odena, *Odeward, Odfrid, Odger* (*Ogger*), *Odierna, Odlent, Odo* (*Otto*), *Odomer* (?), **Odred, Odulf, Oggod* (< **Odgod*), *Ogisus* (< **Odgis*), *Otelinus, Otewi(c), Otic, Otinel, Otwine*); *Ost-* (*Ostebrand* (?), *Ostula*); *Ostr-* (?) (*Ostrilda*).

u (OE *y* < *u* + *i*): *-brun* (*Gerbrun*); compounds with *Hu(g)-*, if < OHG *hugi* (OE *hyge*); see p. 155.

B. Consonants.

b (OE *f, v, u*) : *Alb-* (*Alberica, Albericus, Albreda*); *Ebr-* (*Ebrardus, *Ebrulf*); *Gib-* (*Gibard, Gib(b)ewin, Gibelin* (?), **Gib(b)o* (?), *Gibold*); *Lib-, Leob-* (*Liboret, Leobwinus*); *Rab-* (**Raba, Rabel*).

c [*k*] < *g* : *Dachelin, Droco.*

ch [*tʃ*] < *c* [*k*] : *Achard* (see *Acard*), *Blanchard, Blanch(i)a, Echard, Echiward, *Wichard.*

gu (< *w*) : *Guolfwine* (p. 259).

i, j [*dʒ*], OE *g* : *-beria* (*Alberia, Gerbergia, Gosberia*); *Gir-* (*Girald* etc.); *Jer-* (*Jervais, Jerlo, Jerwyn*); *Jo(s)-* (*Joceram, Johais, Joibert, Josfred, Jouin, Joscelin*); *-ier* (*Frotier*).

nd, nt (< *np*) : *Gund-* (*Gundbert, Gundferð, Gundi, *Gundolus, Gundrada, *Gundran, *Gundric, Gundulf, Gundwi, Gundwine, Guntardus, Guntelin, Gunter*); *-gund* (*Hurogunda, Radegund*); *-nand, -nant* (*Aliand* (?), *Elinant, Fernand, Halanant, *Winand*); *-sent* (*Alsent, Belisent, Elisent, *Ermensent, Frethesenta, Gersent, Hersent, Ilsent, *Ingelsent, Maisent, Mergessent* (?), *Milisent*); *Und-* (*Undela*).

ns : *Ans-*[1] (*Ansard, Ansegis, Ansel(in), Ansera* (?), *Anseric, Ansgardus, *Anshelm, *Anshelma* (?),

[1] OE *Ōs-*.

Ansiger, Ansoldus); *-funs*[1] (*Alfonsus*).

o (< *w*) : *Oanddert, Rainoald.*

p (< *b*, OE *b*) : *Pand-, Pant-* (*Pandulf, Panto*); *Perlo*; *-pold* (*Frampold*); *Sarpo.*

t (< *d*, OE *d*) : *Ait-* (*Aitard*); *Diota*; *Frot-* (*Frotier*); *Hart-* (*Hartald, Hartmari*); *It-* (*Iter*); *Le(u)t-* (*Letard, Letewaria, Leuthere*); *-not* (*Fresnotus*); *Ot-* (*Otbert, Otbold, Other, Otic, Otewi(c), Otwine*); *Pant-* (*Pantulf, Panto*); *Rat-* (*Rather*); *Tet-* (*Tetbaldus, *Tetbertus, Tetildis*); *Walt-* (*Walter*); *Want-* (*Wantelmus*)[2].

t (< *þ*, OE *þ*) : *Rot-* (*Rotbert, Rot(e)land, Rothais, *Rothard, Rotier, Rotroc*).

z (s)c, s(s), (< *t(t), d(d)*) : *Azelin(a), Azilia, Azo, Bascelin, Benza, Benzelin(a), Bercelin, Blize, Cunse, Gos-, Goz-, *Gunzelin* (*Guncelin*), **Guncolda, Hizeman, *Lanzelin(a), Lanzo, Leza, Mazelin(a), Racelin, Rozelin, Rozo, Tascelinus, Tezelinus, Wacelin, Wazelinus* (*Ga(s)celin*), *Wazo, Wesselin, Wicelin, Wizo* (*Witso*).

II. Onomatological evidence.

Of far greater importance than phonetical criteria is what I call *onomatological evidence*, by which I mean the evidence afforded by the observation that certain OG names or name-elements are either altogether lacking in OE or very rare or used only in a special function, i. e. only as a first or as a second member of compounds. It goes without saying, however, that an examination of the OE stock of p. ns with a view to determining what is native and what is foreign often meets with considerable difficulties. This is chiefly

[1] OE *fūs*.

[2] *t* (< *d*) in moneyer's names such as *Deinolt, Heldalt* is certainly WF, although it might be explained after Bülbring § 566.

due to the circumstance that the OE material of extant names is very defective in point of view of the classes of society that are represented in these names. When therefore, in later times, names or name-elements appear which have not been recorded earlier, they were in many cases not strange to the native personal nomenclature. It may also be possible that names or name-elements gone out of use for a certain time have later again become used or fashionable. Further, new combinations of name-stems may have been effected in later times; thus it would seem as if *-man* had acquired a certain popularity in late OE compounds. To this category of names also belong the hybrid formations of native and foreign name-elements that are not seldom met with. New name-stems may also have been coined from words in the OE vocabulary, either spontaneously or by analogy with synonymous words used as name-elements. In cases where native and foreign names agreed in form, it is possible that the introduction of the latter may have rendered the former popular. Consequently, some of the name-stems given below as evidence of non-English origin are uncertain or debatable, but on the whole they will be fairly reliable. Some of them also occur in ON p. ns in England.

A. Name-elements occurring as first members of p. ns.

Aegel-, Egel- (?): see **Aegelbert* and the compounds mentioned there.

Agin-, Ain-, Ein-: *Aginulfus, Aingot, *Ainild, Ainmer, *Ainsie* (?), **Einbold, Eingar, *Einhard, Einulf.*

Ain-, see *Agin-*.

Air- (?) : *Airard.*

Als- (but probably for *Ans-*): **Alsard, Alselm.*

Amal- : *Amalberga, *Amaldredus, Amalinus, Amalric, *Amalrica, Amalwin, Amelfridus, Amelger, Amelina, Amelrey, Amerland, Omulung.*

Ander- : *Anderboda.*
Aui- : **Auelin, Auelina.*
Aues- : *Auesgot.*
Bas- : *Basuin.*
Blanc- : *Blancard(us), Blanch(i)a.*
Carl-[1] : *Carleman.*
Clare(n)- (Latin): *Clare(n)bald, Claremunda.*
Col- : *Colbert(us), Colman.*
Drog- (*Droc-*) : *Drogo* (*Droco*), *Druard.*
Dur- : *Durand.*
**Ebur-* (?) : **Eburhard, *Eburwulf, Euerwacer, Euerwinus, Eurebold, Euroldus.*
Ein-, see *Agin-*.
Elis- (?) : *Aelismer.*
Engel- (*Ingel-*) : *Engelard* (*Ingelard*), **Engelbald* (*Ingelbald*), *Engelbert* (*Ingelbert*), **Engelburg* (*Ingelburg*), **Engeleisa* (*Ingeleis*), *Engeler* (*Ingelarius*), *Engelger* (*Ingelgar*), *Engelin, Engelram* (*Ingelram*), *Engelric* (*Ingelric*), *Ingelmar, *Ingelsent, Ingeraldus* (?).
Engen-, *Ingen-* : **Engenalda* (*Ingenolda*), **Engenold, Engenulf* (*Ingenulf*).
Ēr- (?) : *Erhart.*
Ēren- can not be distinguished from *Eren-* < *Ern-* < *Arn-*.
Erge- : *Ergemond.*
Erl- : *Erlebald, *Erlebert, Erlefred, *Erleua, *Erlgyth, *Erlin, *Erlwald, *Erlwin(e).*
Erp- : *Herpul.*
Ew- (?) : **Ewald, Ewart, Ewram.*
Fader- : *Faderlin.*
Fagen- : *Fagenolf.*
Falc- (?) : *Falco* (*Falcesius*).
Fart- : *Farthild.*

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[1] The simplex *Carl* (OG and ON) also occurs in England. Other simplicia are *Birinus* (?), **Brun, *Ernost.*

Flan- : *Flanbard.*
Flod-[1] : *Flodger, Floheld, Flohere, Fluold.*
Fres- : *Fresnotus.*
Gai-, see *Wai-*.
Gail- : *Gail(l)ard, Gaillarda, Gelram* (?).
Godes- : *Godesbrand, Godesman, Godesscalc, Godsalm* (?).
Hag(an)- : *Haganild, *Hagebert, Haghehurnus, Hago, Hagona, Henaud, Henric.*
Hize- : *Hizeman.*
Hud- : *Hudeman.*
Hug- (if belonging to the name of the *Hūgas*, see p. 213): *Huard, Hubald, Hubert, Hugelin(a), Hugo.*
**Idel-* : **Idelbeard.*
Ides- : *Idesbald.*
Ingel-, see *Engel-*.
Is- (?) : *Isard, Isbert, Isbrand, Is(e)god, Iseldis, Is(e)ward, Isgar, Isiemund, Isla, Isulf, Isware.*
Isen- : *Isenbard, Isenburh, Ise(n)god.*
Judel- : *Judelberd.*
Lend- : *Lendard.*
Leon- : *Leonard* (*Len(n)ard*).
Lis- : *Liseman, Lisiard.*
Los- : *Loswardus.*
Mad-, Mat- : *Mat(e)frid* (*Madfrey*), *Matelina.*
Maht- : *Mahtild.*
Mail- : *Maillard.*
Med- : *Medardus.*
Mil- : *Milisent, Milo.*
Nadel- (*Natel-*) : **Nadelharius, *Natelina.*
Niue(l)- : *Niuelin.*
Odel- : **Odelard, *Odelbert, Odelerius, *Odelric, Odil(o).*
Omul-, see *Amal-*.

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[1] In reality representing a phonetical criterion, *Fl* being < *Hl*, but as such it can be proved only by the observation that *Flod-* ('flood') is lacking in Germanic p. ns whence I have thought it convenient to include it here.

Or- : *Orielda* (*Oriolda*), *Orulfus* (?).
Pand- (*Pant-*) : *Pandulf*, *Panto*
Rest- : *Restold.*
Rog- : *Rogo.*
Ros- : *Rosamunda.*
Sal- : *Salo.*
Sar(a)- : *Sarauuard*, *Sarpo.*
Sava- : *Savaric.*
Sin-, *Sene-* : **Senebald*, *Sinerdus*, *Sinolda.*
Starc- : **Starcher*, **Starculf.*
Sun(e)- : *Sunegod*, *Suneman*, *Sunwinus.*
T(h)anc- : *Tancard*, **Tanchelinus*, *Tancrad*, *Thanggeouc.*
Tis- : *Tiselinus*, **Tiso.*
Tras(e)- : *Tras(e)mundus.*
Urs- : *Urso.*
Wai- : *Gaimar*, *Waifer.*
Wand(e)- : *Wandebertus*, *Wandefred*, *Wantelmus.*
Wandr- : **Wandregisel.*
Wantel- : *Wantelard.*
Wede- : **Wederan.*
Wel- : *Weland.*
Widel- : *Widelardus.*
Win(e)d- : **Winda*, *Winedulf.*

B. Name-elements occurring as second members of p. ns.

-and : *Durand*, *Weland.*
-berga : *Alberia*, *Amalberga*, *Gerberg(i)a*, *Gosberia*, *Roberga*, *Thedberh* (*Theberga*), *Wiberga.*
-bod(o) : *Albod(o)*, *Anderboda*, *Gerbodo*, *Helbodo*, *Herebod*, *Ilbodo*, *Manbodo*, *Radbod(a)*, *Si(g)boda.*
-boia : *Maneboia* (?).
-fer : *Waifer.*
-franc : *Landfranc.*

-funs : *Alfonsus.*
-gand : *Fredegand.*
-gard (in OE exclusively used as the termination of male names): *Aldeardis, Cunegard, Elmegard, Erme(n)gard* (*Armegard*), **Hildiarda, Holdiard, Leogarda.*
-gerna : *Odierna.*
-gota : *Ercongota.*
**-haid*(*-ais,-eis*): *Adelais(a), *Engeleisa* (*Ingeleis*), *Johais, Rothais.*
-hund : *Bertunt.*
-iz(a) : *Adeliz(a), Amiza, Godes(s)a.*
-land : *Amerland, *Eliland, Godland, Iueland, Moriland, Rodland*(*Rol(l)and*), [*Scotland*], *Sigeland.*
-lind (*-lent*) : *Godelent, Gurlind, Odlent* (*Olenta*), *Wulind.*
-not : *Fresnotus.*
-scalc : *Godes(s)calc, *Marscalc.*
-wis(a), -wize : *Alweis, *Anwis, Deudeuize, Eluis, *Eylewisa, Hathewis(a), Helewis.*

C. Name-elements occurring both as first and as second members of p. ns.

Bard- : *Bardel* (?), *Bardwulf.*
-bard : *Flanbard, *Idelbeard* (?), *Isenbard.*
Brand- : *Brandardus, Brandulf, Branuuine.*
-brand : *Aeðelbrand, Aetlebrant, Aldebrandus, *Alebrand, Echebrand* (*Egbrand*), *Eldebrand, Erchebrand, Gerbrandus, Godesbrand, Hadebrand, Hel(d)ebrand, Herbrand, Hildebrand, Holdabrand, Ildebrand, Isbrand, *Leobrant, Ostebrand, Sebrand, Sigebrand, Tilbrandus, Uctebrand, Walebrond* (?), **Wibrand, Wlbrand.*
Gis- : *Gisbertus, Giso, *Gisulf.*
-gis : *Alis(ius), Anneis* (?), *Ansegis, Ernegis* (*Erneis*), **Fredegis, Ogisus, *Theodgis.*

Grim-	: *Grimbald, Grimbert, *Grimmund, Grimwald, Grimward.*
-grim	: *Holdegrim, *Wilgrim* (?).
Ran(n)-	: *Ran(n)ulf.*
-ram, -ran(d)	: *Aldran, Alerannus, Aurandus, Bertram, Engelram (Ingelram), Etram, Ewram* (?), *Fulcran, Gelram, Geram, *Gosram, Gotheram, *Gundran, Lefram, Morand, Oirant, Waleran, *Wederan, Wigeran, *Wulfram.*
Raue(n)-	: *Rauemerus, Rauengarius.*
-rauen	: *Leodrauen.*
**Roc-*	: *Roghard.*
-roc	: *Rotroc.*
Was-	: **Wasger, Wasuuic.*
-was	: *Gervas, *Gervasia.*

Along with these tests are to be mentioned the suffixes which, originally unknown or almost unknown in native p. ns, occur in names especially under NF influence. The most important of these suffixes are *-īn* and its combinations with *l-* and *k*-suffixes *-līn* and *-kīn*, which latter, however, has not been dealt with in the present work. As regards *-(l)īn* in native OE p. ns, it may practically speaking be considered as absent, since the few names, in which it occurs are either uncertain in their forms or etymologically obscure[1]. The suffix *-īn* in ME p. ns has been made the subject of an investigation by Björkman (Archiv 123, p. 23 ff.). From this examination it appears clearly enough that, with the exception of instances where *-in* stands for OE *-wine* or is a Rom. form of *-si* (< *-sige*), the examples of this suffix in ME p. ns are as a rule to be explained from the common NF suffix *-īn*, either of

[1] Cf. e. g. *Tidlin*, adduced by *Eckhardt* from Bright's chapters on early English church history, *Wigelin*, see p. 252, foot-note 2, and *Ceawlin* which is probably not Germanic.

Latin or of OG origin[1]. The same also holds good of the suffix *-(e)lin*, which, however, in ME documents has very often been confused with *-(h)elm*, so that it is difficult to ascertain the true reading. Although *-in* and *-(e)lin* are thus mostly of continental origin, the names in which they occur are not always imported, since the suffixes in question may have been added also to native name-stems. *-ein*, which sometimes appears as the ending of p. ns, is either an AN spelling for *-īn* or = OF *-ain* < *-anus*, owing to a confusion between the Latin suffixes *-enus* and *-ānus*. Cf. *Junenus*, *Junainus*, *Junanus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 344 and the Latinized forms *Haldenus*, *Haldeinus*, *Haldanus* in DB. In the following list I have given those p. ns in *-in(a)* and *-(e)lin(a)* which seem likely to have been taken over from the continent. In some cases, when there are name-stems both with and without *-l* (e. g. *Gis-* and *Gisel-*) it is impossible to say whether a diminutive (e. g. *Giselinus*) is formed by means of *-lin* or *-in*[2].

-in(a) : *Adelina, Albinus, Amalinus, Amelina, Anselin(a), Audena, Audin, Berardin, Bertinus, Bodin, Engelin, Engina, *Erlin, Gerin, *Giselinus, Godin(a), Gosinus, Gundinus, Halebrandin, *Lutin, *Natelina, Orlandinus, Roðin, Tasin, Waldin* (*Gaudinus*), **Walin.*

-(e)lin(a) : *Alselin, Anselin, *Auelin, Auelina, Azelin(a), Bascelin, Benzelin(a), Bercelin, Beslin, Boselin(us), Dachelin, Emelina, Faderlin, Faucelinus, Froelina, Gerlin, Geslinus, Godelena, Gozelin, *Gozelina, *Gunzelin, *Haimelin, Hamelin,*

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[1] Another source of *-īn* is in some cases *-ing* under NF influence; cf. *Adelinus* (p. 9) and *Soartin* = *Swarting* Ellis, Intr. I p. 486.

[2] Sometimes, forms in *-in* and *-lin* were certainly used as diminutives of the same name and may denote the same person.

**Hardelin, Herbelinus, Hugelin(a), *Ivelin(a), *Lanzelin(a), Lecelina, Matelina, Mazelin(a), Odelin(a), Otelin, Rabelyn, Racelin, Rocelin, Rozelin, Sa(i)sselinus, *Tanchelin, Tascelinus, Tezelinus, Tiselinus, Wacelin, Walchelinus, Wazelinus, *Werlin, Wesselin, Wicelin.*

The NF suffixes *-et, -ot, -(e)let, -(e)lot, -inet, -inot* are of frequent occurrence in ME p. ns especially in the 13th and 14th centuries. In many cases such names are of NF introduction, in others the suffixes have been added to native name-stems. In the present work such formations have not been dealt with otherwise than in passing, since they do not fall within the range of Cont.-Germ. p. ns. That names in *-in* and *-lin*, although mostly of NF provenience, have been treated of is due to the fact that both suffixes are also found in OG p. ns.

Before finishing this chapter we may also mention the continental suffixes *-ung*[1] (the English equivalent in p. ns is the gradation-form *-ing*) and *-ulo, -ol* (in *Ebulo, *Gundolus, Ostula*). As regards the suffix *-isc* (*Franciscus*) it occurs only in English adjectives (OE *-isc*, later *-ish*, *issk* in Orrmulum, see Reichmann p. 75), not in Christian names.

[1] In *Englunga* dene (p. 71), *Omulung*.

Addenda.

P. xvii. Inq. Eliens. = Inquisitio Eliensis in DB vol. 4.

p. xvii. KC = Three Rolls of the King's Court (AD 1194—95). Pipe Roll Soc. 14, London 1891.

p. 16. ***Aimeric**, see **Haimeric*.

p. 17. **Ainulfus**, see *Aginulfus*.

p. 23. **Alerannus** Inq. Eliens. p. 497 is < OG *Alaramnus*, *Alerannus*, etc. and identical with *Aurandus* (p. 38).

p. 23. **Alfonsus**; according to Kern (ZfdWortf. ix p. 1 ff.) < *Haðofuns* with Spanish or Portuguese transition of *d* > *l*.

p. 23. **Alina**, see *Adelina*.

„ „ **Aliz(a)**, see *Adelais(a)*.

„ „ **Aubri**, see *Albericus*.

p. 26. **Omeric'** for *Americ* is better accounted for as due to a ME confusion between *o* and *a*. Cf. *Falco* (p. 87).

p. 27. **Amerland**; cf. also Joh'es *Amellant* Rot. Norm. p. 133 (AD 1417).

p. 28. ***Anfrid**; here probably also belong the forms *Anfra* LVD p. 49 and *Anfreth* ibid. p. 79.

p. 29. **Annois**, see **Anwis*.

„ „ **Ansegis**; the second member might also be related to *gîsal 'Geisel'*. The same is also true of the first member of *Gisbertus* and other compounds with the same element.

p. 30. **Ansel**; the occurrence of this name for *Anselin* and vice versa might also be due to the fact that dim. forms in *-el* and *-elin* could be used indiscriminately about the same person.

p. 30. **Ansera**; is this name perhaps < OG *Anshere* (cf. F 127 f.), the final *a* being a reverted spelling after OE unstressed *a* had become *e*?

p. 36. **Aubray**, **Auveray**, see *Albreda*.

p. 38. **Auiza**, **Avicia**, **Avisia**, see *Hathewisa*.

p. 40. **Asso**, see *Azo*.

p. 43. **Basuin** (homo Roberti, Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 293 is probably < OG *Basuin* (F 249). Compounds with *Bas-* are absent from OE.

p. 44. **Berardus** (Norf., Suff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 is < OG, OF *Berard*, cf. *Berardin* (p. 44). Of continental origin are further *Bereuold* (homo Normanni de Adreci) and *Beroldus* (Dors.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 f. (< OG *Beroald*, *Berold* etc. F 265).

p. 44. **Bergerus** (Linc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 294 is < OG *Ber(e)ger* (Mod. G *Berger*) F 261, and not < OE **Burghere*, as Searle suggests.

p. 45. **Berengera**; cf. *Berengera*, *Berengaria* in Bergert pp. 41, 54.

p. 46. **Berner** (Cornw., Shrops.), *Bernerus* arbalistarius (Norf.) Ellis, Intr. I p. 382, II p. 294, < OG *Bernhari*, *Berner* etc. (F 269 f.), also common in Rom. records.

p. 46. [***Bernguidis**, *Bernguidi* (dat.) abbatissæ BCS 28, 57 (AD 672, 681) is not < OG *Bernoidis* (Rom.) but < OE *Beorngyð*. Cf. the form *Quoenguyda* < *Quoengyth* BCS 87 (AD 695).]

p. 49. **Biliald** LVD p. 32 is < OG *Bilihild*; for the second member see *Iseldis* (p. 164). This name is wrongly explained by Searle as **Bilweald*. Cf. also *Belieldis* in Deloche p. 188.

p. 51. **Boia**; for this name see further Anecd. Oxon. X (p. 131) and AfdA 18, 56.

p. 52. **Borghillus** (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 297 is probably a Rom. dim. form of some compound with *Burg-*.

p. 52. **Brandulf** and **Branuuine** Ellis, Intr. II p. 52 are probably to be derived from OG *Brandulf* and *Branduin*

(F 335). Of continental origin is perhaps also *Brandardus* LVD p. 64.

p. 55. **Colenard** mon. (Eadgar) Grueber p. 190 might be a WF-Rom. compound with **Colen-* < *Col-* (see *Colbertus* p. 55). Cf. e. g. *Colamfrid* adduced by F 372. It might also be read **Colehard* owing to the confusion between the letters *n* and *h* on the coins.

p. 57. **Cuierolt** LVD p. 51 is perhaps = **Guerolt* < OG *Werolt* (F 1537), or < OG *Werhilt* (F 1535). *c* for *g* is sometimes met with in ME (see e. g. Luhmann p. 44) and *ie* for *e* is not unusual in AN; cf. Menger p. 39.

p. 66. **Edelina**, see *Adelina*.

„ „ **Eginulfus**, see *Aginulfus*.

„ „ **Eincund, Aeincund** BCS 1130 (AD 972—92) is a male name and, consequently, is not a compound with OHG *-cund* (< *-gund*), which is a fem. termination. It occurs between the ON p. ns *Ulf* and *Grim*, but there exists no similar ON formation. It does not seem unlikely that it is a non-Germanic name. Cf. *Cunda* (p. 57).

p. 73. **Engelram**; add *Inge(l)ram* BCS 1101, 1102 (AD 963).

p. 83. **Ersalt** mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 117 is certainly a corrupt form, and possibly = **Ermalt* (< OG *Ermald*, *Ermold* < *Ermoald* F 473). Cf. *Bomecin* for *Bosecin* Keary p. 109 f. and Intr. p. 92.

p. 83. [**Esmoda** (femina Toli vicecomitis) Ellis, Intr. II p. 109 seems to be a fem. derivative from ON *Asmoth*, instanced by Björkman (Pers. p. 21) from LVD.]

p. 84. **Esturmi**: (Walter) *Esturmi* Exc. Rot. Fin. I p. 393 (AD 1243) < OF *Estourmi* < OG *Sturmi* (F 1367). The form *Sturmid (Sturm')* Ellis, Intr. I p. 488, II p. 391 is < Latinized *Esturmitus*, for which see Kalbow p. 32. For the dim. forms *Sturmin, Stormin* see Archiv 123 p. 37. Cf. also the Norman surname *L'étourmy* given by Moisy p. 283.

p. 86. **Ewram** mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 117 is

probably OG to judge by the second member; the first member might be OHG *êwa* 'Gesetz', but is perhaps corrupt.

p. 90. **Flohere** Thorpe p. 636 and *Floerii* (gen.) R I p. 48 (AD 1155) are < Rom. *Flothar*, *Flother*, etc. < OG *Hlodhar*, *Hludhari* (F 852, 859 f.). The development is analogous to that of *Floheld* (p. 90). Incorrect is Ferguson's derivation (p. 158) of this name < *Floghere* (!), of which the first member is assumed to be related to *fleogan* 'fly'.

p. 90. **Fluold**; cf. also *Flodaldus* Deloche 3, 71. Since the gender of *Fluold* is unknown, it is possible, however, that it is identical with *Floheld*, the second member showing the same development as that of *Iseld* > *Isold*. *u* for *o* might also be due to dissimilation.

p. 98. ***Fulgod*** (*Fulgodes*, gen.) BCS 608 (AD 904) is < OG *Fulgaud*, *Fulgot*, *Folcgot*, etc. F 550. Cf. *Fulbertus* and *Mangod* (pp. 97, 186).

p. 100. **Gala**, see *Walo*.

„ „ **Gasselin**, see *Wazelinus*.

„ „ **Gatelin**, see *Watelin*.

p. 102. **Gaugelinus**, see *Walchelinus*.

p. 108. [**Gernon** (surname) Ellis, Intr. I p. 423 is originally an appellative. According to Moisy (p. 180) it means a 'moustache'.]

p. 113. **Gido**, see *Wido*.

„ „ **Giffard**: the Norman surname *Giffard* is explained by Moisy (p. 160) as meaning 'joufflu' from *giffe* 'joue'.

p. 114. ***Giffred***, see p. 102, foot-note 4 and p. 114, foot-note 2.

p. 115. ***Ginda***, see **Winda*.

„ „ **Gisbertus**; *G(h)isebrecht* is common in Flemish records.

p. 117. **Gisloldus** (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 325 is < OG *Gislold*, etc. F 655 f. Not on record in OE.

p. 117. **God(d)ard**, see **Godehard*.

p. 123. **Godzer**, see **Gozer*.

„ „ **Goisfrid**, see *Gosfrid*.

p. 123. **Goislin**, see *Gozelin.*

„ „ **Goismer**, see **Gosmer.*

p. 130. **Graulf(us)** LVD pp. 60, 68 might be < OG *Gradulf* (F 665), exhibiting a development analogous to that of *Raulf* < *Radulf.* Cf., however, Björkman, Pers. p. 50.

p. 132. **Gualo**, see *Walo.*

„ „ **Gualter**, see *Walter.*

„ „ **Guarinus**, **Guerinus**, see *Warin.*

„ „ **Gueric**, see *Wer(r)ic.*

„ „ **Guibertus**, see **Wibert.*

„ „ **Guichard**, see **Wic(h)ard.*

„ „ **Guido**, see *Wido.*

„ „ ***Guigerius** see **Wiger.*

„ „ **Gulcreo** mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 118 is probably meant to be a Rom. form of OG *Wulf(f)red* or *Wulfrad* (F 1648 f., 1657). *o* sometimes denotes *d* on the coins.

p. 137. **Guynand**, **Gwinant**, see **Winand.*

„ „ **Gychard**, see **Wic(h)ard.*

p. 142. **Hanselin**, see *Anselin.*

p. 147. **Heppo**; Sedgefield (Pl. Ns of Cumberland p. 155) derives the pl. n. *Heppeston* < **Hepp* or *Heppo.* This derivation seems very questionable, since the former name is not recorded elsewhere and the latter only once in England in the example adduced from DB. It seems more likely that the pl. n. in question contains the OE p. n. *Eppa*, *Eoppa*, occurring in OE pl. ns.

p. 151. **Herpul** (Hants.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 337. Cf. OG *Erpolf*, *Herpolf* (also occurring in the pl. n. *Erbolfinga*) F 143. The loss of the final *f* is regular in OF. Cf. also *Pantul* < *Pantulf* Ellis, Intr. II p. 365. This explains such forms as *Selecolf*, *Sortcolf* (< *Selecol*, *Sortcol*) in DB as reverted spellings.

p. 163. **Imena** LVD p. 19 is probably < OG *Im(m)ina*, etc. (F 951 f.) < *Irmina* (F 474). Cf. *Emino* and *Ermina*

pp. 69, 82. But its relation to the ME p. n. *Imaina*, *Imaine* is not clear.

p. 164. **Isbrand** is a very common name in Flemish records.

p. 168. [**Iwardus** (Shrops.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 345 is probably identical with Old Danish *Iwar*, *Ivar*. Cf. the pl. n. *Iwardeby*, *Iwarbi* adduced by Björkman, Namenk. p. 50.]

p. 170. **Jouin**, *Jovinus* (Cornw.) Ellis, Intr. II pp. 153, 344 is probably < OG *Gautwin* (F 620). Cf. *Johais* p. 170.

p. 174. **Le(d)ger**, see **Leodgar*.

„ „ **Lelteld** LVD p. 51 is = **Leteld* < OG *Leuthild*, etc. F 1044. For *Let-* see **Liudhard* p. 179. The intrusive *l* is due to anticipation of the *l* of the second member. Analogous instances are *alðele* for *aðele*, *Alðelbert* for *Aðelbert*, etc. in Luhmann p. 51. Cf. also *Stingandus* for *Stigandus* Ellis, Intr. II p. 230 and *Sturstanus* for *Turstanus* ibid. p. 391.

p. 176. ***Leodgard**; cf. also the pl. n. (de) *Lidgardesuude* LVD p. 68.

p. 178. **Lewys**, see **Hludowic* (p. 153).

p. 179. **Lodewic**, *Lo(e)wis*, see **Hludowic* (p. 153).

p. 181. **Magerus** LVD p. 96 is probably < OG *Magher* (F 1069) and identical with *Macharius* (p. 180), if this name happens to be Germanic.

p. 184. **Maiulf** (North.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 351 is probably < OG *Maiulf*, *Maiolf* (Rom.), *Magulf*, etc. (F 1070). Native *Meguulf* occurring in LV would exhibit the same form but need not be taken into account.

p. 185. **Maneboia**; in view of the fact that other compounds with *-boia* are lacking, it is not impossible that we have to explain this name as an error, two different names **Mane* (< *Mani*, for which see Björkman Pers. p. 95) and *Boia* (which occurs in the same charter) having been written or read together by mistake.

p. 188. **Marcer(e)** mon. (Eadgar, Edw. the Conf.) Grueber pp. 183, 356 (= *Morcere* occurring ibid.?); *Marcherius* (Kent)

Ellis, Intr. II p. 352. OG *Marcher*, etc. F 1096. *Mearc-* also seems to have existed in native names, e. g. *Mearcrædes burnan stæde* AS Chr. 485 A. Of continental origin is probably *Marculf(us)* Ellis, Intr. II p. 184. Cf. OG *Marculf* F 1098. Another compound with the same element is *Mearchealf* in Widsiþ, a king of the Hundings.

p. 188. **Mat(e)frid**; cf. also *Matfredus*, *Madfredus* Deloche 173, 177.

p. 194. **Oanddert**, see *Wandebertus*.

p. 200. [**Ofl** Ellis, Intr. II p. 190 is a mistake for *Olf* < *Ulf*.]

p. 200. **Olenta** is also found in Flemish records. Cf. Oorkondenboek I, 425.

p. 201. [**Onouuinus** Ellis, Intr. II p. 191 is not < **On-wine* (cf. OG compounds with *On-* < *Aun-*), as Searle suggests, but = **Olouuinus* = *Oluuinus* (< OE *Wulfwine*). The same person appears as *Uluuinus* ibid. I p. 501. Owing to a similar confusion between the liquids *l* and *r* in AN are explained *Oruenot* (Ellis, Intr. II p. 193) = **Oluenot* = *Ulnodus* (< OE *Wulfnoð*) ibid. p. 255, and *Orgrim* (ibid. p. 192) = *Olgrim*. Further, *Wirelmus* (ibid. p. 270) stands for *Wilelmus*.]

p. 201. **Orulfus** (Cambr.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 193 might be < OG *Orulf* (F 212) but is perhaps an error for *Ordulf*.

p. 202. **Owine** KCD 804 (AD 1049—58), *Owen* BCS 909 (AD 955), *Ouuine* Ellis, Intr. II p. 199, etc. are probably Celtic. Cf. p. 37.

p. 207. **Rægenbald**, see *Rainbald*.

„ „ **Rænulf**, see **Rainulf*.

„ „ **Ragnerus**, see *Rainer*.

p. 212. **Rauengarius**; cf. also Flemish *Rauengerus* Oorkondenboek I, 95 (AD 1105).

p. 212. **Regerus** (Staff.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 376 is probably < OG **Ragihari*, *Ragar* (Mod. G *Reger*) F 1241 f. Cf. *Raimar* (p. 207).

p. 215. **Roberta**, see *Ro(d)bert.*

p. 219. **Romild** LVD p. 52 seems to be < OG *Romilda, Rumhilt* F 884. Cf. *Rumbald* (p. 221).

p. 220. [**Rotlesc** Ellis, Intr. II p. 207 is corrupt for *Roscet(e)l.*]

p. 224. [**Scaldefort** (Ess.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 210 might be a hybrid form of ON *Skiald-* (recorded in England in *Sceldeware* in DB and **Sceldmar* in pl. ns, see Björkman, Pers. p. 123, Namenk. p. 75) and native *-frid* and be identical with the p. n. *Scelfride* (Yorks.) Ellis, ibid. p. 210. For *-fort* = *-frid* cf. *Asfort, Sasford* (ibid. pp. 42, 208) = *Asfrid, Sasfrid.*]

p. 224. **Sessisbert** (Glouc.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 388 stands for **Seisbert* < Rom. *Saisbert* < OG *Sahsbert* (F 1289). Cf. also *Sessi* = *Sexi, Saxi* Ellis, Intr. II p. 212.

p. 225. [**Sileburh** LVD p. 48 is < OE *Seleburh.*]

p. 226. [**Stubart** Ellis, Intr. II p. 230 is identical with *Stanhart* ibid. p. 228.]

p. 226. **Sturmin**, see *Esturmi* above.

„ „ **Sungeoue**; add *Sonneua* (Yorks.) Ellis, Intr. II p. 226.

p. 228. **Teolf**, see *Theodulf.*

p. 233. **Ticheld** (et uxor ejus Emma) LVD p. 16 cannot be compounded with *-hild*, since it is a male name. It is very likely identical with the p. n. *Tihellus* (Britto) Ellis, Intr. I p. 492.

p. 236. **Undela** mon. (St. Eadmund) Keary p. 130 is < OG *Undila* (male) AD 782 (F 1482). Cf. also OG *Undo, Undinus* (ibid.), and the compounds *Undabert, Underich, Undoin, Undulf*, etc. *Und-* is < OHG *undea* 'Welle, Woge', of which the OE equivalent is *Yð-* (occurring in *Ythswið* in LV). F's identification of OG *Undoin* with OE *Ontwine* is incorrect.

p. 252. ***Wibrand**; *Wibrand* also occurs in Flemish records.

p. 257. **Wina** (Aalis, Margaritha, *Wina*, Wala, Emalina) LVD p. 57 is probably < Rom. *Wina* (cf. F 1611), a hypocoristic form of compounds with *Wine-*. It might of course also have been coined in England as a fem. equivalent of native *Wine*.

p. 258. **Winemarus** is found in Flemish records, e. g. Oorkondenboek II 671.

p. 259. **Wlfgatus** LVD pp. 60, 69 is probably = **Wulfgotus* (cf. OG *Wulfegaud*, *Ulfegaud*, etc. F 1650). Cf. *Maingat* for *Maingot* (p. 183).

Errata.

P. 10, line 4 from top (and in several other places), read hypocoristic.
„ 17, line 5 from top, read *Aelismer*.
„ 23, foot-note 2, read *Aelismer*.
„ 29, line 13 from top, read *Anseïs*.
„ 44, „ 6 „ bottom, read *Bercelin*.